

Surara
Pakidai

101 /6 cont. /

64 obtain by barter clay vessels, clay plates, bows, arrows, hammocks, baskets, belts, and upper-arm ornaments (29).

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29. Pottery is not practiced at all by the Surara and Pakidai, and their self-made bows, arrows, hammocks, etc. are inferior in quality to those of the Xiriana.

/7/

IV. Historical Data

At the present time, in the winter months (rainy season), April-September, the Surara live at the Cachoeira dos Índios (Ill. 2 and 3), on the upper Rio Aracá, and the Pakidai in Taraquí, on a right branch of the middle Demini. The summer months (dry season), October-March, on the other hand, the two tribes spend together in a large, open maloka, which belongs to the Surara, in the virgin forest region between the Demini and Aracá rivers. This maloka lies 70 kilometers northeast of the Cachoeira dos Índios and about 100 kilometers south of the source region of the Orinoco.

114 Koch-Grünberg, on his map accompanying the work Vom
103 Rorofma zum Orinoco /From the Rorofma to the Orinoco/, showed neither the Rio Demini nor the Rio Aracá and designates this region as "unknown territory." In his text he also says, "the entire large area between Rio Negro, Rio Branco and Uraricuéra is unexplored to this day" (30). Baldus likewise points out that in this area

30. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 287.

"surprises still await the seeker of unknown tribes" (31).

31. Baldus, 1956a, p. 294.

Suráa
Pakidái
Waiká
Schiriana

/10 cont./

114 repellent because of the lack of any kind of body care" (46).
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46. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 304.

Chaffanjon expressed himself in a similar manner, but even more disapprovingly, with regard to the Guaharibos: "Small and puny, thin limbs, a stomach enormously distended, hair long and dirty, a bestial countenance make them look repulsive.

(291) They are absolutely naked; two men have a long and scraggly
(411) beard; their complexion is lighter than that of all the Indians
whom I have thus far mentioned; their only weapon is a stick"
114 /translated from the French/ (47). Finally, it should be men-
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47. Chaffanjon, 1889, pp. 308-311.

tioned that, of approximately 40 adult Waiká, Zerries established an average figure of 151.5 centimeters for men and 142 centimeters for women (48a).

48a. Zerries, 1956a, p. 186.

114 Comparisons show that the Suráa and Pakidái have the same
142 physical characteristics as the Guaharibo, Xiriana, and Waiká (48b).

48b. Only recently there appeared a work by the same author, "Beiträge zur Anthropologie der Waika- und Schiriana-Indianer im Grenzgebiet zwischen Venezuela und Brasilien /Contributions to the Anthropology of the Waika and Schiriana Indians in the Border Region Between Venezuela and Brazil/, " which is supplemented by excellent illustrative material (Zerries, 1959, pp. 31-41).

It is therefore astonishing that Chaffanjon and Koch-Grünberg describe the Indians that they studied as so strikingly ugly. It

Surara
Pakidai

/17 cont. /

and by Zerries for the Waiká (63).

63. Zerries, 1954b, p. 73.

411 3. War and Hunting Weapons and Accessories

For war and hunting expeditions the Surara and Pakidai, exactly like most of the other forest nomads of South America, use very large bows -- hâtonahî -- and arrows -- xerêka (Ill. 12).

[824] The bows, so-called simple bows because they consist of only one piece, are made out of the heavy black wood of the pupunha or chonta palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) and are between 2.03-2.12 meters long. Their tension-strength weight is 32 kilograms and the length of stretch 71 centimeters (64). As

64. Pertinent comparisons with bows of other South American tribes may be found in Ranke's chart (Ranke, 1903, p. 347).

the result of a not too marked, but uniform curvature, they have a symmetrical appearance. While the outer side is flat, the inner side is rounded, so that the cross-section, which in the center amounts to 2-2 1/2 centimeters, appears semicircular. The two ends come to a point (Fig. 2 i).

411 With regard to their construction it may be said that now-
412 adays the bow-staff is first roughly shaped with ax and tercado
322 (large bush-knife (65). (I did not find any stone axes, which

[439] 65. They obtain these objects by barter with piacabelros (palm-fiber gatherers) and as gifts from the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini.

[439] were perhaps once used in former times.) Subsequently the men shape them with a small knife, which they likewise obtain by barter.

Suréy
Pukidai
Siriana
Samatari

/17 cont. /

411 barter. For smoothing, they use the inner edge of the eye-tooth
412 from the lower jaw of a wild pig and the rough leaves of the
322 curatella (*Cecropia peltata*), which gives the bow a beautiful,
237 shiny appearance.

824 The bowsring -- *penahitábe* --, which consists of three
411 strands of *curaus* (*Bromeliaceae*) fiber strings twisted to the right,
233 is fastened to the bow ends with a simple knot. If one wants to
tighten up the bow, the string must be twisted more, which makes
it shorter.

411 The bow described may be immediately classified as one of
191 the typical bow-forms of Guiana, which Métraux characterizes as
114 follows: "Guiana bows were generally convex on the belly while
the back or outer surface was concave or flat" /cited in English/ (66).

66. Métraux, 1949, p. 232.

According to Meyer's classification, on account of its semi-circular cross-section, it would /18/ belong to the North Brazilian bow-type; on the basis of the material, however, to the Peru group, because it is not the reddish-brown, smooth leguminous wood, but that of the pupunha palm (67). P. Schmidt also

67. Meyer, no date, p. 31.

devotes a rather long section to this "reverse form of the flat bow" and already lists the following tribes north of the Amazonas where it occurs: "Kanamare on the Rio Jurua, Trio, Ojana, Makusi, Wapishana, Uaupe, Porokoto, Passe (child's bow), Siriana on the Rio /Fig. 2 appears here. / /19/ Utaicapara, Motomoto" (68). On the basis of the descriptions and illustrations

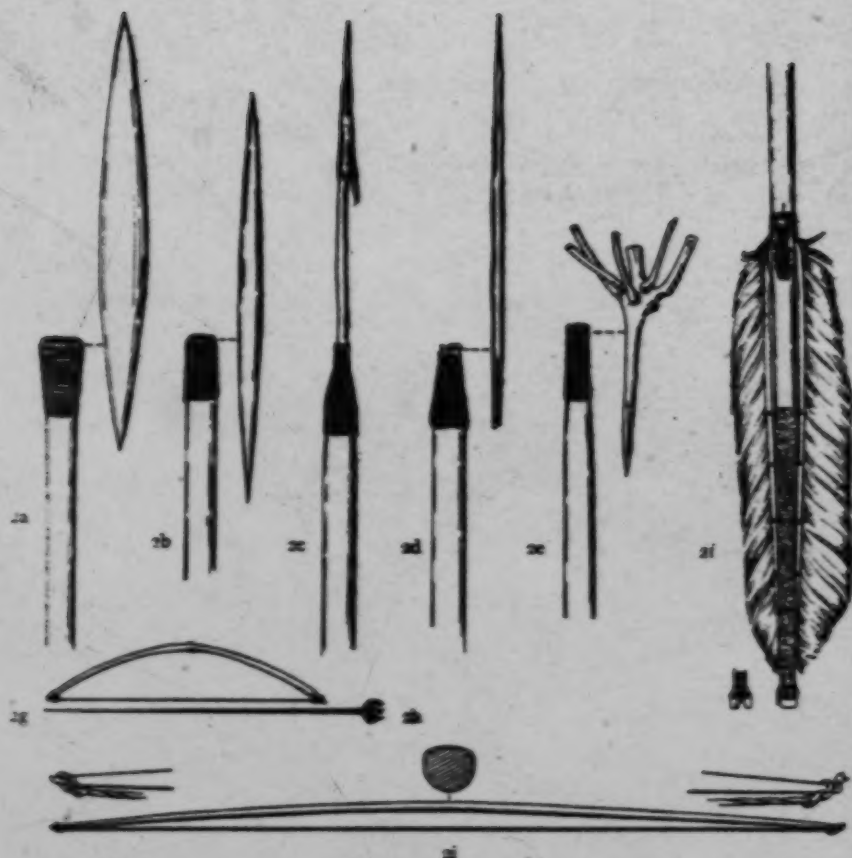
411 68. P. Schmidt, 1913, p. 1030.
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tions of the Xirifina bow which Koch-Grünberg gives (69), it is

69. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311 and
Pl. 47 (1 and 2a, b, c, d).

[Text continues on p. 39]

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- Fig. 2a. Wide, lancet-shaped bamboo arrow-point.
 Fig. 2b. Narrow, lancet-shaped bamboo arrow-point.
 Fig. 2c. Arrow-point with barb.
 Fig. 2d. Wooden arrow-point with coating of poison.
 Fig. 2e. Forked wooden arrow-point.
 Fig. 2f. Arrow feathering.
 Fig. 2g. Boy's bow.
 Fig. 2h. Boy's arrow.
 Fig. 2i. Bow with cross-section and string fastening.

Surára
Pakidái
Xiriana
Samatari

/19 cont./

● 411 almost identical with that of the Surára and Pakidái, except for
184 the fact that the former is set off at the ends. This confirms the
114 statements made by the Indians investigated by me who said that
[173] they obtained bows of this kind and the knowledge of how to make
them themselves from the Xiriana. In reply to my question as to
why their bows were not set off at the end, I was told that the
Xiriana demand this deviation. In the Hamburg Museum für
Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte /Museum for Ethnology and
Prehistory/, there are two Xiriana bows which were collected
by Koch-Grünberg (12.25:29, 12.25:31). They are relatively
small specimens, however, for they are only 1.92 and 1.82
meters high, respectively. A bow which came from the
Xamatári of the Rio Maiá, a left tributary of the Rio Cauabaris,
and which is also in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und
Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:4) and is two meters
high, has exactly the same shape as the Surára and Pakidái one,
that is, without the offset ends. This is not surprising, for,
according to the statement of the Surára chief Hewemão, the
Xamatári are likewise satellites of the Xiriana (see p. 12).
Finally, it should be mentioned that the same bow-form has
also been documented for the Waiká in Venezuela (70).

70. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

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824 The arrows -- xeréka --, whose total length comes to be-
tween 2-2.12 meters (shaft length 1.89-1.94 meters; weight,
60-90 grams) (71) (72), are made out of arrow cane -- xerekaibe --

[114] 71. These measurements confirm Weule's state-
ment when he says that the arrow must corre-
spond in length, shape, and weight to the bow,
in order to guarantee a certain accuracy of
aim (Weule, 1899, p. 6).

72. Pertinent comparisons with other South
American tribes are to be found in the
chart by Ranke (Ranke, 1903, p. 347).

Surfara
Pakidai
Shiriana
Samatari

/19 cont./

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[249]
[824]
[237]
[283] which the Surfara and Pakidai plant in the vicinity of their malokas on the upper Aracá and the middle Demini, respectively. All five of the arrow types used by them have the same feathering -- jaromahik --, which consists of two halves of the black wing feathers of the mutum (*Crax* sp.) -- paruri. They are placed against the cane in such a way that they alternately show the upper and the lower side of the feather. At several places on the hand end they are held by two threads of the tight winding of *Bromelia* fibers -- pemakasiurakama. Inside this winding, which is supposed to strengthen the weak cane against the pressure of the bowstring, there is stuck on the end of the cane in addition a small wooden peg fastened with resin, which has a notch in its thickened outer part, which is set on the bowstring. This is supposed to prevent the cane from splitting when the arrow flies off. The upper end of the feather shaft is wound with a second, narrower winding, in which, between the two halves of the arrow feathers, two additional small black mutum feathers are frequently stuck as ornaments (Fig. 2f).

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114 The feathering described belongs to the Guiana type of feathering, according to the classification by Meyer (73). Koch-

73. Meyer, no date, p. 9.

Grünberg (74) confirms it for the Xiriana, and it can also be recog-

74. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (4, 7, 8).

nized on the arrows which that investigator brought back for the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:33-42). The arrows in the Alfred Boeldecke Collection (56.15:5-7) in the same museum and the drawings by Vinci (75) show that the Xamatari likewise use this

75. Vinci, 1956, p. 146, Fig. a.

Surára
Pakidáí
Xamatári
Karimé

• 411 /19.cont./

184 feathering, and, according to Salathé, it is also to be found
114 among the Karimé (76).

76. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 300 and
Figs. 3 and 4.

411 There is an astonishingly wide range of variation for the
arrow points, of which the following five different types occur
among the Surára and Pakidáí:

1. Kamtaná -- It is a wide, lancet-shaped bamboo point, 25-28
centimeters long, both /20/ ends of which come to a point; the
[531] width in the center is 3-4 centimeters. The upper side is rounded
off, and the lower one, occasionally somewhat hollowed out, is
[283] sometimes painted with black dots. It is inserted in the slightly
split arrow shaft and tightly wound with Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2a).
Since the arrows with this large point have particularly great
penetrating power, they are used chiefly for the hunting of tapirs
and jaguars; moreover, they are used for warlike encounters.
Every Surára and Pakidáí man always carries two or three such
reserve points in his quiver.

411 Salathé found similar points among the Karimé (77) and
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114

77. Salathé, 1931/32, pp. 299/300
; and Fig. 3b.

Vinci among the Xamatári (78). Moreover, they are confirmed

78. Vinci, 1956, pp. 145 and 146, Fig. b.

for the latter Indians by a specimen in the Hamburg Museum für
Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte. (Alfred Boeldecke Collection,

6.15.5. Length, 23 centimeters; width in the center, three
[531] centimeters. On the lower hollowed-out side, this point is painted
with a black, serpentine line.)

Shiriana
Surára
Pakidái

/20 cont./

- 411 The lancet-shaped bamboo points of the Xiriana investigated
184 by Koch-Grünberg, on the other hand, have a somewhat differ-
114 ent shape. Here the two ends do not come to a point, as among
[283] the Surára, Pakidái, Karimé, and Xamatári, but rather one end
is thickened, hollowed out, and, wound with Bromelia fibers, is
set on a wooden shaft inserted in the arrow cane (79). Three such

79. Koch-Grünberg 1923a, p. 312 and Pl.
47 (5, 8).

Xiriana arrow points of the Koch-Grünberg Collection in the
Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte have, more-
over, the respectable length of 34 centimeters (12. 25:37) and 35
centimeters (12. 25:34-35).

Inasmuch as the Surára and Pakidái, according to their own
statements, borrowed their lancet-shaped bamboo points from the
Xiriana, the ensuing alteration process is quite significant, since,
indeed, the point is no longer mounted on a wooden shaft, but is
inserted directly into the arrow cane.

Furthermore, lancet-shaped bamboo points have been con-
firmed for the Waiká by Zerries (80) and Schuster (81), but it is

80. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

81. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

not clear from their texts whether this is the same type as that of
the Surára, Pakidái, etc. or that of the Xiriana.

- 411 How greatly the lengths and attachment possibilities of such
171 bamboo points vary among South American Indians is very clearly
shown by the comprehensive investigations of Meyer (82) and

82. Meyer, no date, pp. 18, 19, 25, 27,
30, 36, 37, 47, 48, 49, and Plates I, 11,
13; II, 16; III, 14; IV, 8, 15.

Surará
Pakidái

/20 cont./

● 41
[171] Métraux (83).

83. Métraux, 1949, pp. 236/37 and Fig. 64.

[283]
[824] 2. Rahaká -- This is a narrower lancet-shaped bamboo point which is inserted in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers in the same way as the kantaná (Fig. 2b). The individual points are 20-22 centimeters long and 1.5 - 2 centimeters wide in the middle. Wild pigs, water hogs (capybara), deer, pacas, and cutias (see p. 4) are killed with them. It is noteworthy that such narrow bamboo points have hitherto not been mentioned in the literature.

[237]
[283]
[314] 3. Kantarim -- Point with barb, made from a twin-pointed piece of bone from the guatá (Ateles paniscus L.). This is lashed, by means of a winding of Bromelia fibers additionally coated with pitch, parallel to the upper end of a wooden shaft inserted in the arrow cane (Fig. 2c). With this arrow tip, which is very widespread in South America, the Surára and Pakidái shoot birds and fish.

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[114]
[171] According to the classification by Métraux, it belongs to the second principal type of arrow points occurring in the tropical forest region of South America (84).¹ Meyer mentions that it is

84. Métraux, 1949, p. 237.

[184] used in Guiana, but also in western Brazil and among the Karajá /Caraja/ (85). Within the Yanoámi group, they have furthermore

85. Meyer, no date, p. 18.

been documented for the Xiriána (86), Karimé (87), Xamatári (88),

86. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312
and Pl. 47 (7).

87. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 300 and Fig. 3c.

88. Vinci, 1956, pp. 144 and 146, Fig. c.

Surara
Pakidai

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/20 cont./

and Waiká (89) (90). In the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde

89. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

90. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

und Vorgeschichte, there are, /21/ moreover, three Xiriána arrows with this point (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12. 25:39-41) and an arrow from the Xamatári (Boeldecke Collection, 56. 15:6).

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[824] 4. Ranaká -- Forked wooden point of a bird arrow; length, 12-15 centimeters. The material is furnished by a tree -- paioórimá -- which shows countless such forkings. The lower part of the stem is pointed and is set in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2e). Thus far there is a parallel for this arrow point only among the Waiká (91a).

91a. Barker, 1953, p. 464.

5. Unamú -- Wooden arrow-point with a coating of poison. A thin, pointed rod of the hard wood of the pupunha palm, 22-24 centimeters long, is coated with arrow poison, giving it a black appearance. The rear end is inserted in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2d). Such poisoned arrows are used exclusively for hunting monkeys, since these animals living in the tall trees are otherwise difficult to kill. According to the statements of Surara and Pakidai informants, they never shoot poisoned arrows at human beings.

411
184 Other Yanonámi tribes who likewise use poisoned arrows are the Xiriána (91b), Karimé (92), and Waiká (93) (94). Moreover,

91b. Koch-Grünberg, 1923, p. 312.

92. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 301 and Fig. 5a.

93. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

94. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

Surara
Pakidai

/21 cont. /

411 there is a Xamatiri poisoned arrow in the possession of the Hamburg
184 Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection,
56. 15:7).

411 Métraux writes with reference to the poisoned arrows:
171 "Poisoned arrows were not so widely used by the Indians as is com-
114 monly assumed from the exaggerated accounts of the Spanish
conquistadors. Curare, which is the most deadly poison known
[439] to the Indians, is prepared by relatively few tribes though it is
traded throughout wide regions" /cited in English/ (95). Among

95. Métraux, 1949, p. 242.

Karaiben /Carib/ tribes in Guiana, poisoned arrows which are shot
with a bow are not very often encountered, for they are documented
only for the Nakuxi /Macusi/ by Richard Schomburgk (96) and for

96. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 428.

411 the Trio by de Goeje (97). It should be mentioned in this connec-
171

97. de Goeje, 1906, p. 15; Pl. V,
figs. 10-12; Pl. XI, Fig. 22.

tion, however, that many Karaiben, for example, the Arekuni-
Taulipang /Arecuna/, shoot small poisoned arrows with a blowgun;
this weapon is unknown to the Surara and Pakidai.

278 Arrow poisons:

According to what my Surara informants reported to me,
[192] they use three kinds of poison of different strengths, all of which,
[184] however, they designate by the general name -- mamokõrimaunipe.
This name is almost the same as the one which the Waiká, accord-
ing to Zerries, use for arrow poison -- mamokordi (98).

98. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

/22 cont. /

Boys' bow:

The boys' bow -- haúó -- is 80-90 centimeters long and consists of a curved branch of the paioórimá tree, which also furnishes the material for the bird arrow-points. As in the case of all branch-bows, the arms are of different lengths, so that an unsymmetrical shape is produced, which affects the accuracy of the



Fig. 3. Position for shooting with the bow.

shot. This is of no consequence, however, since these are merely toy bows for small boys. On both ends the bow staff is tapered and set off to receive the bowstring -- pebatábe -- which is made out of a liana (cipó-titica) (Fig. 2g).

Boys' arrows:

Ruhumacik is the name of the thin arrow, 80-90 centimeters long, for boys, which the fathers make out of the wood of the inaja palm Maximiliana regia Mart.) -- kareximací. The feathering -- jaronahíx -- consists of two small halves of mutum feathers, which are lashed to the shaft with a thread of cotton. Instead of an arrow point mounted separately, the arrow here is only slightly pointed (Fig. 2h); the designation for it is -- peimacikenâme.

Surara
Pakidai

/22 cont./

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[482] In the forest the Surara and Pakidai as a rule carry their bows and arrows longwise with one or both hands above their heads, but occasionally also on the right or left shoulder.

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114 In shooting, the bow is held in a horizontal position with the left hand. The arrow lies to the left of the bow, between thumb and index finger. The man holds the end of the arrow between the index finger and middle finger of the right hand and simultaneously stretches the bowstring with the second joints of these fingers (Fig. 3); occasionally he also adds the second joint of the ring finger, if the shot is to be reinforced. This is a form which, following Morse, is designated as the "Mediterranean release" /cited in English/. This practice has been documented also for Eskimo tribes and Siberian peoples (100), but never for

100. Morse, 1885, pp. 12-15 and Figs. 8 and 9.

South American Indians. Concerning the tribes on the Aiarý, Koch-Grünberg says that here the men hold the end of the arrow with thumb and index finger of the /23/ right hand, while they simply press the other three fingers against the palm of the hand (101).

101. Koch-Grünberg, 1909, p. 104 and Ill. 58.

The Yurakare /Yuracare/, too, hold the arrow with the thumb and index finger of the right hand, and they use the remaining three fingers for stretching the bow (102). These latter forms seem to be

102. von Holten, 1877, p. 111.

the most customary in South America, but unfortunately this cannot be definitely established because the information concerning this is too meager. Friederici has already justifiably complained: "With reference to the manner of grasping and stretching the bow and aiming and shooting the arrow, reports are unfortunately very scarce;

Surára
Pakidái

/23 cont./

411 the few that are available are not the type from which rules could
171 be deduced" (103). If the arrow is to be shot upward, the left arm
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103. Friederici, 1907, p. 329.

is stretched out and the bowstring is pulled up to the right eye with the right hand (Ill. 13). I did not meet any left-handed archers. Koch-Grünberg mentions one and remarks that he was assured there were many of them (104). Among the Mosquito

104. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 73.

Indians in Central America left-handedness seems even to be quite pronounced, for Sapper shows their typical handling of the bow and arrow in the photograph of a Mosquito boy shooting left-handed (105).

105. Sapper, 1903, p. 54.

411 The best shooting performances, which I tested with men and boys, were between 40-50 meters for the former, who shot straight through an empty gasoline can with the large, mounted, lancet-shaped arrow-point, and between 8-10 meters for the latter. Yet even at a distance of 100 meters, most of the men hit the target; the penetrating power, however, was considerably diminished. These figures agree very closely with the statements compiled from the literature by Friederici (106). Several warriors

106. Friederici, 1907, p. 326.

were also able to shoot indirectly, which is shown by the following experiment which I carried out with Hewemão, the chief of the Surára, his younger brother Kurikajawō, the Surára man Brakaiwō, and the warrior chief of the Pakidái, Poréhiwō. I placed three white leaves of standard size on the ground, one behind the other, at a distance of 30, 28, and 26 meters from the

Surára
Pakidái

/23 cont./

- 411 individual archers. The aforementioned men then shot three arrows into the air successively (one with a large lancet-shaped point, one with a small lancet-shaped point, and one with a bone point), and each one hit the leaf, usually even the center of it. This Indian ability to hit targets even with an indirect shot has already been pointed out by Friederici and substantiated in the sources (107).

107. Friederici, 1907, p. 329.

I also observed, however, that not all the men were equally good archers, although from childhood on, of course, they are constantly handling bow and arrow. My servant Mateus and I each carried a shotgun, 20 caliber, with us, and the use of our guns aroused the interest of only a few men. The aforementioned three Surára and the Pakidái, however, as well as several other warriors, after a very short time, knew how to handle them just as well as bow and arrow.

- [114] Koch-Grünberg came to similar conclusions on his journeys, for he writes: "This is not to say that every Indian is an accomplished hunter. Among these people, too, talents and inclinations are unevenly distributed..." (108).

108. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 59.

- [422] It should be mentioned further that bows and arrows represent the most valuable private property of every man, and they [796] also play a large part in all magical and religious practices (cures [155] of the sick, festivals, dances, etc.). Furthermore, the weapons [437] are favorite trade items and gifts of honor which the Surára and [431] Pakidái occasionally receive from the Xiríána or give the latter during visits (see pp. 13, 159/160). A young man who wants to [584] marry a girl must also first make a bow and five different arrows for his future father-in-law. /24/ If a warrior dies, his weapons [764] are burned with him, so that he may use them on his journey to the moon and on the moon itself (see p. 150).

411 Before the Surára and Pakidái adopted the large reverse flat
173 bow from the Xiríána, I was told, their forefathers were acquainted with only the branch-bow.

Suráa
Pakidai

/24 cont. /

000 with only the branch-bow. Accordingly, the present-day child's toy would represent a "survival" /quoted in English/. The Waiká, Zerries reports, had a tradition according to which they completely lacked even bows and arrows in olden times. Wars at that time were waged only with clubs. He also found a few specimens and describes them

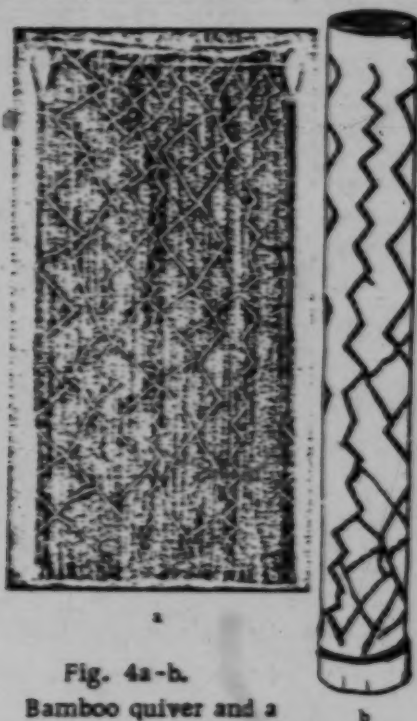


Fig. 4a-b.

Bamboo quiver and a
rubbing of the incised
design.

as long, flat sword-clubs, called "hfmco," which are made from the wood of the pupunha palm (109). Moreover, he mentions long

109. Zerries, 1956a, p. 185.

wooden poles with which, to this day, local conflicts are settled, which reminds him of the duels of the Botokuden /Botocudo/ (110) (111).

110. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

111. Zerries, 1954b, p. 715.

Surára
Pakidai

/24 cont./

411
824 Among the Indians investigated by me, I observed neither poles nor clubs (112), but I did see an intermediate form, namely, sticks

112. Among the Xirîna, too, Koch-Grünberg did not discover any native clubs (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313).

made of pupunha wood 1.30-1.40 meters long, which are somewhat thicker at one end and the name of which is likewise --
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528 hîmo. With these the men, for certain reasons, engage in
171 stick-duels (113) which resemble those of the Guayakí (114);

113. Becher, 1959, pp. 162 ff.

114. Baldus, 1939, p. 113.

they differ greatly, however, from the stick combats of the
411
184 Botokuden (115). Nevertheless, there are distinct parallels be-

115. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1820, pp. 368-370.

tween the poles or clubs of the Waiká and the sticks of the Surára and Pakidái, first of all, on account of the similar use to which they are put and, secondly, because of the similar name. It is
(174) therefore to be assumed that pole and stick represent very primitive weapons, from which, presumably as a result of external influences, the club was developed.

411 Quivers:

The bamboo quivers -- tôra -- 32 to 40 centimeters long, with a diameter of four to five centimeters, are an important accessory for the hunting and war weapons. They are for the
(531) most part decorated with incised serpentine lines and zigzag designs (Figs. 4a, 4b).

411
482 The quiver, in which there are always a few poisoned arrow-points wrapped in palm leaves and several large, as well as small,

Surara
Pakidai

411 /24 cont. /

482 lance-shaped bamboo points, is worn on a neck cord by every hunter and warrior, who has it hang down on his back so that it does not interfere with the stretching of the bow.

411 /25/ Quivers of the same form and carried in the same way
184 are also found among the Waiká, as may be seen from a photograph by Zerries (116). Moreover, the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte owns such a quiver, though without decoration, from the Xamatári (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:3a).

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4. Fire-making Apparatus

Tied by means of a string of cotton or cursá (Bromelia fiber) to every Surara and Pakidai quiver at the top and bottom is the fire-drilling apparatus -- borórohsá -- which consists of a lance-shaped hearth -- paníbequehsá -- and two drilling sticks -- ihirupenhsá (Fig. 5). Both parts are made from the soft wood of the
[824] wild cacao tree -- poróroá -- exactly as among the Waiká (117).
[184]

117. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

372 Koch-Grünberg documents such a fire-drilling apparatus for the
114 Xirianá (118), but without mentioning the material. On the basis

118. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311.

of a specimen which he brought back for the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:124), however, one may state that it is likewise made of the wood of the wild cacao tree. He says nothing at all about
[411] quivers and thus does not seem to have found any. Nor did I find elsewhere in the literature any parallels for the very practical combination of quiver and fire-making apparatus (119). Nevertheless,

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119. That it is well-known among the Xamatári, however, is proved by two objects from that tribe in the Hamburg Museum

Surárá
Pakidái

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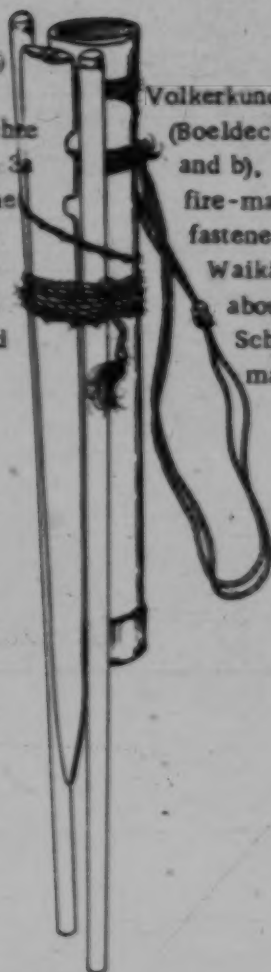


Fig. 5. Bamboo quiver with fire-drill apparatus tied on.

372 Nevertheless,

[484] it is perfectly obvious, "for if the Surárá and Pakidái men on war and hunting expeditions are unable to return to the maloka in the evening, they are able to kindle a fire along the way in three to four minutes. To do this a man in a squatting position holds the hearth on the ground with one foot and drills with the palms of his hands (Ill. 31). The holes of the hearth are previously bored with a knife made of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasypsecta aguti L.) (See P. 116) and are /26/ connected with a small groove at the side.

[412]

[237]

2: Becher--271 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Suraro
Pakidai

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III. 12. Surara warriors

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III. 13. Surara warrior before shooting an arrow

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III. 14. Poréhiwō, war chief of the Pakidai, in festive adornment

2: Becher--278 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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Surara

Pakidai

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III. 41. Pakidai Indian with tobacco roll between lower lip and teeth.

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III. 42.

The Surara and Pakidai men assemble during the festival in memory of the dead for the ceremonial drisking of the banana soup which is mixed with bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe.

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III. 43. A dance of the Surara warriors. (Chief Hewemao is sitting at the left in the foreground.)



/187 cont. /

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The Gualaika (Waika) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijigao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

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Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guaharibo (Sanemá).

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/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced." They obtain curiaras from the Mayoncon, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Uraricuera and Parima, to Boavista. They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

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The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was published by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

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Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names. Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Wajuchas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waika, and Casapare groups, but the extent data offer no certainty in this regard.

/202 cont. /

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[184] (Zerries, 1956a), Casapare (Koch-Grünberg, 1923, p. 313 and Pl. 47), Karimé (Salathé, 1931-32, p. 306 and Figure 16), Surarí and Pakidai (Becher, 1960, p. 54). The handle of the knife, [171] relatively short, may be made of wood or of a simple piece of bone; it is in style also among the Guayakí (Hitte, /203/ 1897, Pl. III, Figures 4 and 6) and the Siriono (Holmberg, 1950, p. 14), both tribes with a primitive culture.

[237]
[179] In order to smooth their bows, the Sanemá use the tusk of a peccary. Before the introduction of iron axes they used stone axes, which are still found among them, although rarely.

● 411
[224] The most important weapon of the Sanemá is the bow and arrow. The bow, plano-convex, 2-2.10 meters, is made of macanilla wood. In the middle it measures 2-3 centimeters in width, which tapers to 0.5 centimeter at the ends. The bow-string is made of plant fibers. The different classes of arrows which they use are distinguished according to the different points that they have. Their total length varies between 1.60 meters and 2.40 meters (cf. Méndez-Arocha, 1960, pp. 54-60). This latter trait of having arrows of this length is another characteristic of the nomadic Indians of the Tropical Forest. The arrow points vary according to the game that they wish to hunt. The bamboo point, lance-shaped, is for large game; for medium-sized and small animals they use arrows whose point is made of monkey bone. There is another point of wood which they poison with curare and which they use as a weapon of war (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Pl. 47; Becher, 1960, p. 18). The lower part of the arrow is provided with two halves of a turkey feather, in the manner typical of the tribes of Guayana.

[627] Another weapon for combat is the club 1.50-2.50 meters in length and of heavy wood, which they use to settle local fights and which reminds one of the clubs of the Botocudo of Brazil.

291 Sanemá dress is the simplest. Both sexes wear a cord tied about the waist. The men carry the penis fastened up by the prepuce. Among the Nabudub we saw several women who wore no clothing other than the above-mentioned cord; most of the Sanemá, however, use a guayuco of cotton thread, dyed with onoto and in the same manner as the type Becher describes (1960,

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It is also dangerous to lose an arrow when one is hunting. That is why they only shoot the arrow when, should they miss the target, they can easily retrieve it. In spite of these precautions, the arrow is sometimes lost or remains hanging from an inaccessible tree. Then the man, in order not to lose his aim, puts it under the protection of Omao, to whom he speaks, saying: "Omaúawan ipa šlaka toldíapala!" which means: "Omao, watch over my arrow!"

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To lose one's aim or luck in hunting may arise from a technical reason or a supernatural cause. The former is due to a weakening of the body brought about by sickness or other causes which influence sight or the strength of the arm. If it is due to this latter cause, the hunter knows the remedy. He goes to the forest and searches for a tree with hard, heavy wood; he cuts a piece and sets fire to it and collects the ashes, which he applies to the cuts inflicted on his arm. If he bears the pain without touching the hurt arm with the other hand and does not shout, his muscles will once again recover their lost strength and the hunter will recover his luck and good aim.

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If the hunter returns without any game, it may be because Omao did not favor him, and this is the supernatural cause of his failure.

According to our informants from the Erebató, a good hunter speaks frequently with Omao, for without his protection he will not be lucky. For this reason he says to him: "Omao awayf ipa šálawa hadu kapálama!" which is translated as: "Omao, draw my game out into the open!"

Worse than being unlucky is to lose one's life in a hunting accident, and in order to implore the protection of the other world, the hunter prays, "Omao šátoria palá!" that is to say: "Omao, protect me!"

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/206/ Of course, all these precautions are useless if the hunter has not learned the art of hunting. He must know how the various animals live and how to identify their tracks. If these latter should be fresh, he orders his dog to follow the track of the game; the success of a Sanemá hunter depends in great

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[237]

Sanema Indian of the upper Ventuari preparing the shaft of an arrow, using a typical "knife" made out of a rodent's tooth mounted on a small stick.

Waica

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Waica family of the upper Orinoco.

Courtesy: Luciano Scamuzi

BLOOD GROUP ANTIGEN TESTS

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In 1913, Koch-Grünberg⁵ had observed that Yanoaman was different from 197
Cariban and that it apparently represented an isolated language. While this opin- 114
ion was shared by the majority of authors who subsequently referred to the lan-
guage, two American linguists have recently broken with this tradition by forward-
ing suggestions of possible affiliations. Greenberg⁶ classified "Shiriana" as a dis-
tinct group belonging to the "*Chibchan proper*," subfamily of the "*Macro-Chib-
chan*" family, and Swadesh⁷ established a "*Macro-Siriana*" with an internal sepa-
ration of 30 mc, including Chapacura (27 mc), and Siriana (21 mc). He later
suggested (personal communication) that Waraoan should also be reckoned in
"*Macro-Siriana*," which would increase the internal divergence of this micro-
phyllum to that of 72 mc. Since the latter suggestion is of major interest to the dis-
tribution of the Diego antigen, we shall return to the discussion of the same after
having presented the material on the Waica blood groups.

Cultural aspects. The Yanoama are a semi-nomadic forest people who rely for 105
their subsistence chiefly on hunting, gathering, and arboriculture. Fishing is of a
very subordinate importance and only peripheral groups, such as the northern 226
Senemá, have adopted agriculture from neighboring tribes. Although arboricul- 241
ture is of vital importance among most of the Yanoama subtribes (plantains 177
[*Musa paradisiaca normalis*], and pupunha [*Guiljelma geripaes*]), there can be 245
little doubt that the basic economic and cultural pattern of the Yanoama has re-
mained essentially on a Paleo-Indian culture level of the early hunting peoples of
South America.

Yanoama technology is very little developed. The Waica produce thick-walled 323
conical cooking pots, and Yanoama women make large twined carrying baskets. 285
Cordage, belts, and one type of hammock are made of planted cotton, but weaving 286
and metal work of any kind is unknown. Recently, several Yanoama groups have 325
learned how to make dugout canoes, but their crafts and paddles still lack the 396
perfection of the same artifacts among their masters (e.g. Caribs). Very long 411
bows and arrows are the main weapons of these Indians, but stick-clubs may an-
te-date the former.⁸

The local groups of the Yanoama are composed of bands of several extended 621
families with nuclear family households. Residence rules have, as yet, not clearly 591
been established, but judging from the Senemá of the Esbato and from the

⁵ Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 493-498.

⁶ Greenberg, 1956.

⁷ Swadesh, 1959, p. 28.

⁸ Only the Waica were reported to make pottery, and the planting of cotton is very recent.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema



The Silent Hunters

[Frontispiece - facing title page]

Nor does

CAPTURED BY THE SAMATARI

the usefulness of the Corozo palm end here: it furnishes a hard, black wood that gives the Indians their finest bows, real masterpieces treasured with pride by their owners and only bought and sold with a great deal of ceremony.

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The *lakas* represents the Indian food-ideal. It grows in bunches up to eighty pounds or more in weight, each fruit being the size of an egg and in shape and colour not unlike a small, ripe cheese. Cooking it takes a long time. The outside is a thick starchy layer, orange-coloured and rich-tasting without being over-sweet or sickly. It is better than any of our starchy foods such as bread or potatoes or chestnuts or *guachi*. The whole of it is edible right down to the little stone itself. This is a kind of delicious almond which crumbles pleasantly under one's teeth and leaves nothing but an insatiable desire for more—hence its name, *lakas*.

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Lakas can be carried: there are no doubts about this, as in the case of the *luamoshi*. Its golden bunches are big enough to cover up a man, and the carrier protects himself from the thorns on the branches with a good thick cushion of leaves. In the evening they are cooked, so that the grim-faced women of the tribe are able to produce their milk after all and tirelessly pass it on to the scabby, drooling mouths of their infants, who in their turn convert it into blood and yield it up to the clouds of flies and mosquitoes which wrap them round with a perpetual dark veil like an aura of evil and accursed spirits.

In recompense for its fabulous generosity, the *lakas* tree has been accorded one great privilege that sets it apart from all the other fruit-bearing trees of the forest: it is never cut down for the easier harvesting of the crop. The fruit is brought down by some clever manipulation of a long pole, for no climber's hands and feet could withstand the thorns. If in very special circumstances the tree has to be cut down, then its upper stem is opened so that its last, secret riches can be cut out—the ten pounds of sweet, crisp, chestnut-flavoured tenderness that is its growing point, the heart. Then the tree will weep out its tears from its torn breast, tears of wine that are lost.

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Certainly the tribes living nearest to the forest and the forest's deep anti-human mysteries have chosen the *lakas* as their god of food: but we, a hybrid mixture of natural fears and supernatural thunderings, chose to set up opposite it our own saint, the yellow and most luscious *sopai*. When the marching horde reached a guarded tree which evoked the quick cry '*Sopai!*' they flung themselves at it—such is their agility in tree-climbing that they literally seem to fling themselves up—and began a feast that reduced them to silence because

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RED CLOTH AND GREEN FOREST

At one point, Luis Antonio got the gun back. The cartridges, in some unknown fashion, had got lost, except for a dozen which bore every appearance of having been soaked and chewed. But we might still be able to fire a shot or two, 'on our way back'. Unfortunately, though we were looking forward to it as our day of salvation, that time seemed to grow more distant with every day that passed. We were on our way south now, and the forest of the Uagna where our canoe was waiting for us seemed a mere memory of another world.

Only later did I come to know what had happened about the gun. The Samatari could not get used to the idea of having a fire-arm with them. Partly because they knew it was dangerous, and were afraid that one day it might automatically turn on them, partly because they thought that if their enemies got hold of such a weapon they would be able to attack them and wipe them out. Luis Antonio had helped them out of their dilemma, cleverly inducing them to give up the gun by a manoeuvre which didn't enhance our prestige, but improved our position considerably by establishing the fact that we weren't really dangerous at all. Luis Antonio had given a demonstration of the gun's powers—at a time when Enrico and I were too far away to hear the shot. He had chosen for his target a termites' nest hanging down from a tree and fired some spread-shot at it. As might have been expected, nothing happened—apart from the fact that all the Samatari took flight. A few leaves fluttered down, the spectators returned, and everyone was disappointed. The *bombamadé* was no good at all! They had expected to see the whole tree, not just the termites' nest, destroyed—they had the same faith in the unlimited powers of the gun as the Makiritari had in the outboard motor. From that moment on they left the gun to Luis Antonio and didn't bother any more about it, though they may have wondered, being naturally suspicious of Guayca tricks, whether Luis Antonio had left out of the weapon something that he ought to have put in. But very likely they had connected the idea of the gun with the air bombardment of the Kasarape, and in this case they must have been even more mystified still.

- 411 Samatari weapons are much more efficient than our guns, in their own hands, at any rate, and they have one advantage: the raw material for them is

AT HOME WITH THE SAMATARI

there for the taking in the forest and the supply, from both animal and vegetable sources, is inexhaustible. 411 ●

The bow is of surprising dimensions. It is six feet six inches long, this being equivalent, considering the height of the archer, to nine feet nine inches for us. The simplest pattern is made from the *seke* palm. They also use a hardwood—from a tree known in Venezuela as the 'golden pole'. This is very rare, almost as rare among the Indians as metal. But the finest bows of all, possessed by the few and worth a fortune, are made from the corozo tree, the *laka* of the Shirians. This wood is extremely hard but very fibrous, with the elasticity of a steel spring. The shaping and fining down of these bows, and the making of the arrows, is the one form of craftsmanship known to the Samatari. With this they occupy themselves during the rainy season, under rough roofs of palm leaves. A tree belonging to the Moraceae family furnishes the very tough fibre for the bowstrings: it is found all along the river-banks and in the forest glades. 411 824 [283]

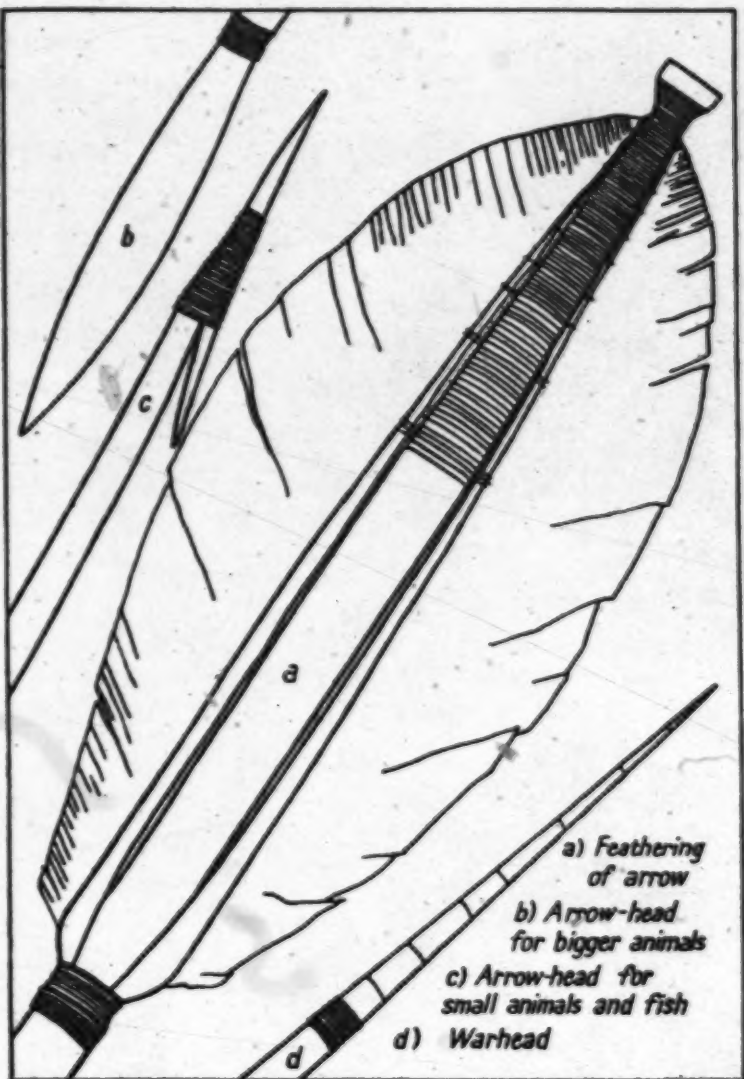
The slender arrows, six foot six inches long, are made from a cane cultivated in the secret depths of the forest, though it grows naturally on any of the river creeks which flood regularly. Curassow or guan feathers, split in half, are bound on to the cane. [237]

There are three types of arrow-head, according to the purpose for which they are to be used. The lightest is a splinter cut from the shinbone of a monkey, firmly fixed to the end of a short stick, in such a way as to form a sharp-pointed prong. This is used on small animals, and especially for birds and fish. There are numbers of big fish, like the *pampano* and *surapiri*, which lie near the surface so that a slight rippling of the water betrays their presence. The arrow which pierces them cannot be shaken out, and its length and weight make it difficult for the wounded fish to get very far. 411 [237] [226]

Another kind of point is virtually a miniature spear fashioned out of a very hard bamboo cane. Very sharp, and razor-edged, it will strike deep into the most resistant flesh, the toughest hide. The Samatari use this on the bigger game, such as tapir, and also for war—though for the latter purpose it is superseded by a specialized warhead. This is a sharpened splinter of palm wood—the same as goes to the making of the bows—dipped in a red poison made from the bark of a certain tree. A series of rings, four or five of them, are notched out round the arrow-tip, so that it is weakened at these places. If the tip strikes bone on entering the body, or if the arrow is pulled out, it snaps at one of these weakened parts, leaving the broken tip embedded in the flesh so that 411 726

[P.122]

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AT HOME WITH THE SAMATARI

the poison has time to spread and enter the bloodstream. The Samatari go off to war with masses of these poisoned arrows and a cane quiver slung across their shoulders. This contains spare arrow-heads which can be quickly attached to the arrows arriving in a stream from the enemy. Every fighter carries his own ammunition, but the weapons are really the common property of friend and foe alike. 411 726 [422]

There is one other widely used weapon, and a deadly one it is—a heavy wooden club for use on the cranium in close-combat conditions, such as usually arise at the end of the battle when the ammunition is exhausted and the antagonists have worked themselves up into a fine frenzy. Then the hand-to-hand fighting excels in ferocity, but the blood scattered on the ground is misleading—the actual mortality rate is very low. Tremendous whacks on the head are exchanged, that lay the scalp open right down to the bone. But cracking the cranium itself is not so easy: Samatari heads are harder than Corozo palm.

One may well ask why the Indians are forever fighting these wars, but this is to put the question a little too ingenuously. The answer can only be that it is their mode of life—just as it is other people's mode of life not to keep on fighting. There are vendettas as old as their race itself, fanned by their belief in the evil eye of the witch doctors who can cause the death of children and spread sickness through the tribe. Fear is the underlying cause, at the origin of these vendettas and at the origin of all origins; fear that is the very condition, the very breath of existence for primitive man in the inhuman, unhuman forest regions that set their stamp on all who live in them. Fear gives birth to these bloody encounters, which a little cool-headedness could transform into the meeting of friends. We ourselves owed our salvation to the fact that we hadn't fought back. We had a certain confidence too, over and above the passing moment of fear, a certain faith in the essential goodness of man. 721 628 [754] [753] [123]*

But apart from fear and the vendettas which grow out of it, there is one native activity which just as easily leads to war: theft. Theft is the activity in which the Shirians excel, their way of living. Everything that can further their nomadic existence is torn out of the earth, the trees and the animals. The process means effort and struggle, always more or less exhausting and unsafe. It follows logically that if anything they basically need belongs to other men, they will take it from them, too. The tribe on the river so-and-so possesses a machete, or a knife—perhaps the result of long bargaining with their neighbours, or, more often, of a highly successful bit of burglary and some 721 685

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35. Doljau was pale and handsome.

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36. A typical primitive: a man of good will, ugly as he is.

[p. 192-A]

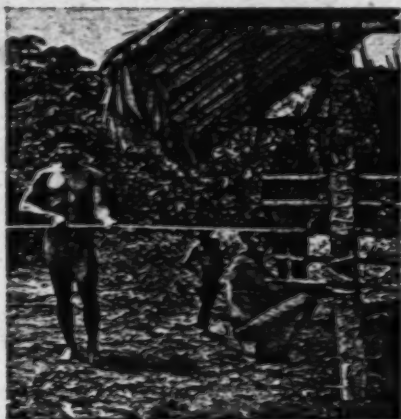
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44. The charge goes into the blow-pipe: a demonstration by Mahgashane.

45. The blow-pipe in action.

[p. 192-D]

/441 cont./

Obtaining Food

224 Hunting.

Hunting is done with bows and arrows.

A broad arrow-point of bamboo is used against larger land game, such as the danta, the váquiros /peccaries/, and the large rodents. Poisoned points are used against monkeys and occasionally against dantas. Bone points are used principally to hunt birds. Small birds are hunted with arrows with a blunt point or forked point.

[231] Dogs are used in hunting, and in the case of the smallest wild pigs, these dogs frequently do more killing than the hunters.

The hunters hunt together and surround the game. The one who succeeds in killing it is the owner of the animal. He might make a gift of a few pieces to those who have helped him, but in general he carries the entire animal to his house, where it is cooked. A danta, of course, must be divided up on the spot in order to be transported.

262 Almost all the mammals are eaten, felines being the principal exception. A few snakes are eaten; others are not. The babilla /an amphisbaenian reptile/ is also eaten. Birds of prey, such as hawks, eagles, vultures, and turkey buzzards and others, are not eaten. Almost all the other birds are eaten, even the little humming birds.

/442/ Meat is considered an essential part of the diet and perhaps occupies the second place of importance after platanos.

226 Fishing.

Several types of toxins are used to poison fish in the small currents of water. One of these is a bejuco. Another is the shell of an edible nut with a prickly husk. Another is the bark of a certain tree of great size.

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857 When the waters lower in streams and swamps (generally around the months of January and February), women and children go out armed with clubs and come back with baskets full of fish.

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Cotton is spun by means of a hand spindle. This thread is then twisted into three-thread cords.

Various fibers of bark are twisted to make bowstrings or fishing lines. These same fibers of bark are frequently plaited to make hammock strings.

The fiber of a certain plant similar to the pineapple is also extracted and twisted, producing a very tough cord.

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The knots which the Gwaika /Waica/ make are very simple and practical. The timber hitch is employed in all cases in

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which a flexible cord is used. This includes the stringing of the bows. The hammock is hung using a timber slipknot. This knot is made in such a way that it can be instantly untied by a pull.

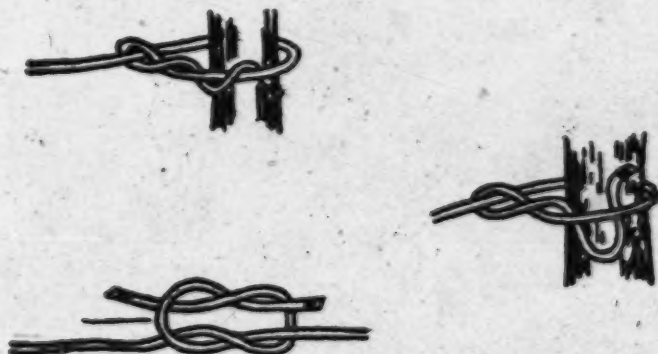
The square knot is used to join the ends of two cords. In the accompanying Fig. 2, we show drawings of the three knots concerned.

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/456/ A band of bark is made for carrying children. First they obtain a stick of the right size, which is beaten with another stick for several days. The scaly outer bark comes off. Finally, the smaller end of the cylindrical bark is inserted into the larger end (of greater diameter), and the two are then firmly sewed together. The result is a band or strip without rough or cutting edges, which remains flexible and useful for many months.

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/Fig. 2/

/456 cont./

Preparation of Basic Materials

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321 The Guaika /Waica/ make their arrow points out of bone. When they obtain a small piece of bone, they quickly transform it into a good arrow-point for killing birds. The long bones of legs and arms of monkeys are broken, and the sharp points which generally result have a form similar to that of arrowheads, are worked and finished, with the rest being thrown away. To give them shape, the points are scraped with knives or machetes and rubbed on some stone.

534
321 I also saw a whistle or a flute which seemed to be made out of bone or out of a quill of large size.

411
322 The Guaika make their bows out of wood. They generally select the wood of the "pijiguo" palm. They give it a rough shape, using the machete. They achieve the final form by [824] scraping the piece with the jawbone of a wild pig, the teeth [239] constituting the cutting edges. [412]

322 They do wood carving with a small knife, which consists of the tooth of a rodent. With this tooth they manage the fine work of putting notches in the arrows. They also shape bamboo [412] arrow-points and the oblong lower part of the apparatus for making [239] fire.

They devote as much as half a day to carving the handles for their axes and machetes. They use the machete to shape them.

323 The Guaika make their pots of mud. The clay is obtained in specific places. This frequently requires a day or more of travel. Once the clay has been brought to the settlement, /457/ they go about extracting the stones from it while kneading it, moistened, for several hours. The pot is begun by taking a ball of mud which is given the shape of a bowl. Then they go on adding rings of mud which they join to the pot. The vessel is scraped and shaped with a piece of broken totuma /fruit of the calabash tree/. During the process of the scraping, they go on increasing the size of the pot. They keep the clay damp and plastic, spitting on it from time to time. After this they put the pot out to dry in the sun and finally bake it in the fire. The vessel comes out of

/463 cont. /

373 as well as to light the path. Torches of gum and resin are also
416 used sometimes on the paths during the night, but the common
484 type of torch is the fagot of tied pieces of wood. A group which
travels at night (as occurs when they are returning after nightfall
from the work of fishing) may carry only one torch. Then they
stop from time to time to arrange the joined sticks and to revive
the fire, keeping it from going out.

373 The wood fire is the principal source of light and heat in the
374 settlements. The fires are kept lighted during the entire night,
both to produce warmth and for protection against predatory
animals and the spirits of human beings which have returned.

372 There do not seem to be any beliefs or ceremonies related
to the production and maintenance of fire.

Weapons

● 411 The principal weapon of the Guaica /Waica/ is the bow and
arrow. They also use macanas.

(824) The bow is made of palm wood, generally of "pijiguo,"
(283) with a strong string made of threads of bark. This string has
three or more threads of twisted bark, which give it great
strength.

(249) The shafts of their arrows are made of the festooned part
(237) of a certain wild cane, which they cultivate in their "conucos."
They feather them with the points of wing feathers of wild turkeys.

Arrow points vary according to the type of game which is
to be the target. The wide bamboo point is used /464/ principally
against large land animals; the bone one for shooting large
and medium-sized birds, and the poisoned points principally for
monkeys. Any of these points might be used against man in
the event of war. Against small birds they shoot the shaft,
first removing the point, or they use a point ramified at the end,
made out of a small branch quickly broken off some nearby
plant. The accompanying Fig. 7 /see p. 35/ shows the different
types of arrow points of the Guaika. /Fig. 7 appears here. /

/464 cont. /

- 411 The children make small bows, generally for their games, but
897 they also shoot lizards, which are good bait for fishing. These
[824] bows may be made of several types of wood, but rarely of palm.
The bows of the men are always made of palm.

411 Macanas are used by women for fishing. They are also used
[226] by men in their attacks on other settlements with which they have
had more or less friendly relations, for the purpose of recovering
the wife or daughter held captive there.



/Fig. 7/

Poisons

278
[226] A variety of poisons for fishing are used by the Gualka
/Waica/. One comes from a vine, another from the husk of a
prickly nut, and the third from the bark of a certain thick tree.

[411] Arrow points are poisoned with the poison from the bark of
a vine. They scrape the bark, and the scrapings, /465/ wrapped
in leaves, are kept dry by hanging them over the current of air
from a fire until they are needed.

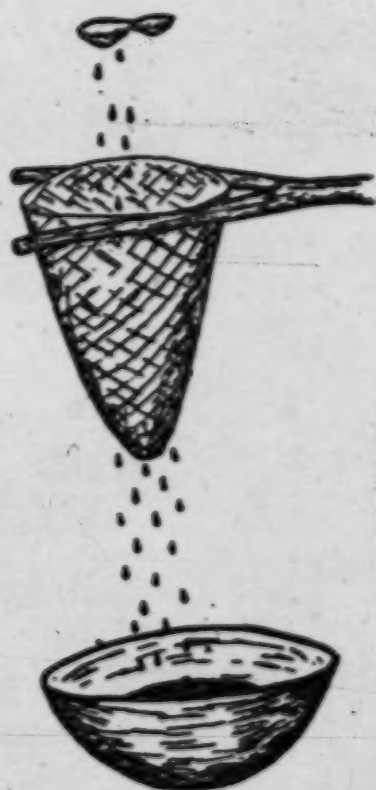
On the day when an Indian is going to prepare poison, every
man of the settlement gets ready to prepare a set of arrow points
to be poisoned.

[415] The preparer of the poison begins by pulverizing the scrapings
of bark between the palms of his hands. He constantly utters a
series of shouts and grunts while doing this. Then he places the
pulverized bark in a funnel made of leaves, into which hot water

/465 cont. /

298
[415] is poured, a few drops at a time. The liquid which seeps
/466 through is collected in a totuma. Fig. 8 shows the procedure.
Several fires are lighted around, and after a short time
the firewood is scattered so that there will be no flames,
but only burning embers.

298
• 411 Then the sets of arrowheads which are to be poisoned are
stuck into bundles made of leaves and placed in such a way
that the points remain over the embers. The poisonous
liquid is then smeared on the points, in small quantities each
time, drying immediately. All the poison is smeared on the
points on the day it is prepared. The accompanying Fig. 9
/see p. 37/ shows the procedure. /Fig. 9 appears here. /

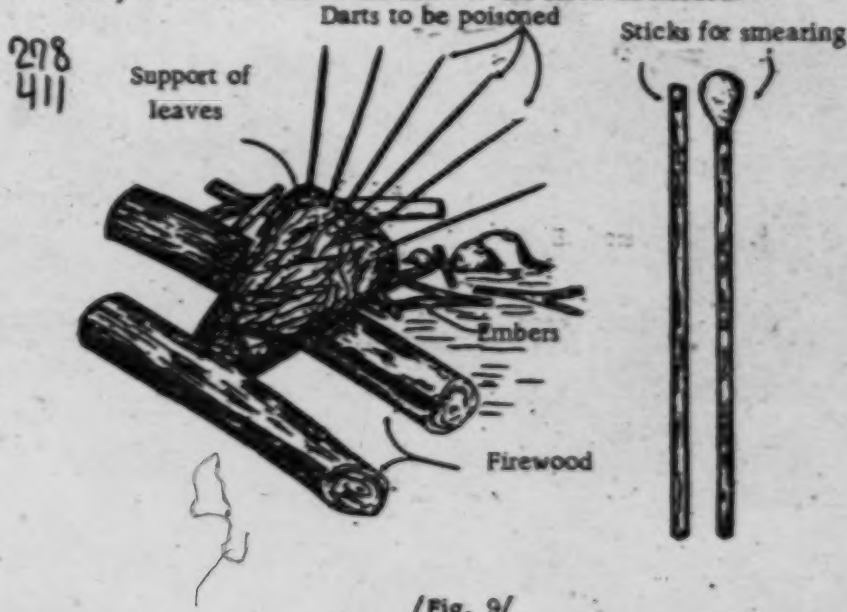


/Fig. 8/

/466 cont./

298
● 411 Some of the sticks used for applying the poison to the arrow-
heads are of palm and have a hole near one of the ends for
holding poison. Others have a wad of cotton or of any ab-
sorbent material tied to the end in order to be saturated with the
poison.

411 When the poison has dried on the arrow points, the latter
are kept in the quiver, which consists of a bamboo tube, always
ready to be attached to the shaft of the arrow as needed.



/Fig. 9/

/473 cont./

583 To a suitor who does not obtain the consent of the girl's
628 settlement there is no other path but to look for a wife elsewhere
or to try to abduct the girl in order to make her his /474/ wife.
If he decides to do this latter, he gathers together his sympathiz-
ers; these are mostly men of the suitor's own settlement, al-
though other friends may also help him. The group attempts to
take the girl prisoner at a careless moment, carrying her off by
force. The friends of the girl come to help her, starting a
hand-to-hand fight. If the suitor manages to flee with the girl,
she becomes his wife, but if he fails, he cannot make another
attempt at abduction without then being considered a real
enemy, and as such he will run the risk of being shot with an
arrow and not simply have to put on a fight.

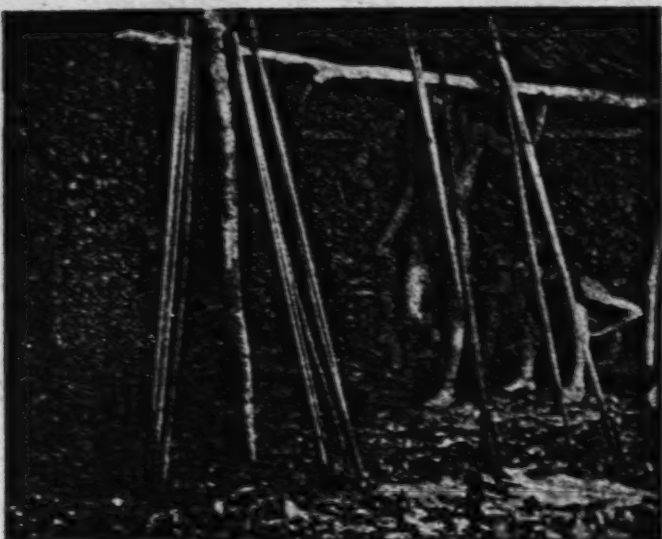
If a settlement decides not to accept the abduction com-
mitted for one of its girls for matrimonial purposes, a call for
help can be made to a neighboring settlement, all of the men
gathering in a band, ready to recover her. The weapons used on
such a raid are smooth poles about six feet long, intended not
to kill the opponent, but to knock him down, leaving him hors de
combat. If such a raid is successful, the girl is returned to her
parents. And if the raid fails, any new attempt to recover the
girl involves the risk of the attackers' being shot with arrows,
since they would then be considered as true enemies. Both the
men and the women can fight on the defense in case of such a raid.

A suitor alone or with the help of a few friends may succeed
in carrying out the abduction of a wife, generally by finding the
girl practically alone and carrying her off to his own settlement.
In such cases the settlement of the abductor cannot back him,
obliging him to return the woman to her parents rather than to
lose their friends in her settlement.

721 When a raid to a truly hostile settlement is planned for the
302 purpose of abducting a wife or other objects of value, each
• one of the members of the attacking band paints himself entirely
726 black or dark maroon. For such raids the weapons are the bow
(411) and arrows, and, when the fight starts, both groups shoot to kill.
Should the attacking band be small, it can only hope to capture
some girl or woman who is alone in her "conuco" or /475/
cutting wood in the forest. Then it will try to escape with the

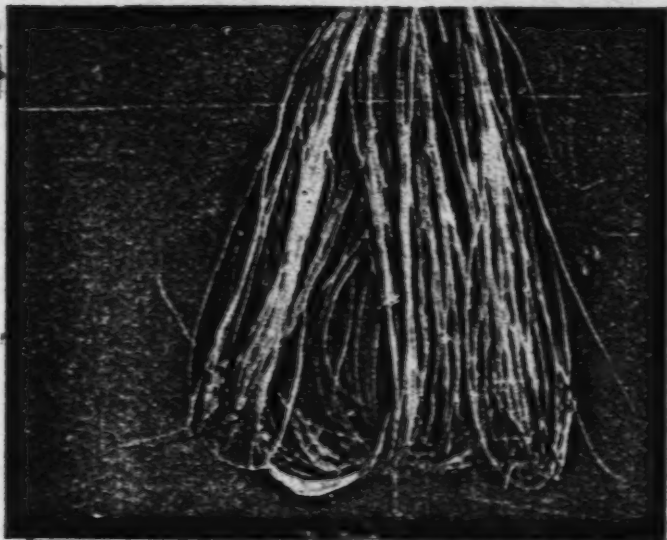
Plate V

342
• 411
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Interior of a Guaika hut in El Platanal. Note the extraordinary length of their powerful arrows. (Photo. by the author.)

352
824



The chinchorro or hammock of the Guaika consists of vegetable fibers joined at both ends, without any transversal weaving, El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

/152/ n. /

574 The majority of those from the aldea of Bisheasetjети accepted the invitation. They entered Liatcoatjети, hanging their
 628 hammocks from the trees, and they were served a soup made
 721 of boiled ripe plantains. Then suddenly they were attacked with
 [262] axes, machetes, and other weapons. The leaders and the oldest
 [411] were attacked first, and most of them died, but many of the
 younger men managed to escape, dropping everything and
 running for their lives. The enemies who were lying in wait
 outside also took the same road as those who had fled from the aldea.

727 The majority of the women were captured, but at the first
 opportunity all of the older ones escaped and returned to
 Bisheasetjети. But the younger girls were afraid to run away,
 and for that reason most of them are now the wives of the men
 of Liatcoatjети or of their friends.

628 The aldea of Majecototjети (Platanal) was short of food.
 731 They constructed a bridge over the Orinoco and crossed it to
 [499] make a visit to Bisheasetjети and stay until their own farms might
 be able to produce more food. The people of Majecototjети came
 to Bisheasetjети just at the moment when those who had managed
 to escape were arriving and reassembling.

628 A messenger was sent to Yabitjaotjети for arrows, and about
 411 six or seven boys from Yabitjaotjети came with him, each one
 721 carrying a large bundle of darts /dardos, darts, lances/. These
 were quickly put together and their points put on. Bisheasetjети
 was rearmed, and Majecototjети better armed than before and
 166 ready to attack. The site of the aldea of Bisheasetjети was aban-
 722 doned at this time, for fear that the enemies might follow them
 628 to it. Both aldeas lived on what was produced by that of the
 Majecototjети /sic/. They crossed the Orinoco every three days
 to obtain a load of bananas from the farm located on the north bank.

One of the times when they came to get food, they found
 that the river had carried off the bridge. No one had a boat, and
 they could not cross. About three days later the men of
 Majecototjети returned to the river and built their houses on the
 cleared place of the aldea. Meanwhile they lived in the forest
 000 near there. One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,

/153 cont. /

628 In January of 1952, while many of those from the aldea of
584 Yoeitjети were visiting in Majecototjети, a group of men from
/154/ Shibaatfa-tjети came and inquired about "Macluma," about
giving her in matrimony to a man from Shibaatfa-tjети, who was
already married to her older sister. "Macluma" had just passed
puberty, and "Yajicocoue," the husband of the other older sister
of "Macluma," also wanted her. The grandmother of "Macluma"
persuaded her not to go off with the man from Shibaatfa-tjети
unless she never wanted to see her again.

That night the Shibaatfa-tjети suitor asked for Macluma in
"singing" fashion, while talking with "Shinaocaoue," the chief
/capitán/ of Majecototjети. The chief called him "old man."
He told the chief that if he obtained her, he would be good to
her, he would not put fire on her or beat her. I am not sure what
conclusion they reached, although I suspect that the chief re-
fused to give her to him.

628 On the following afternoon the men of Shibaatfa-tjети
583 caught "Macluma" outside of the aldea and tried to take her off
584 by force, in what the Yonomama /Yanoama/ call a "shaimau."
The Majecototjети women came to rescue her, and a group got
into a fight and into a "rope fight" /lucha de cuerda/ over
"Macluma." This lasted for several hours. The men of Yoeitjети
and I myself stood to one side and watched, but did not take part.
Finally, the women managed to carry "Macluma" back to her
house, and things quieted down.

The men of Shibaatfa-tjети said that they would come back
for "Macluma." The men of Majecototjети said, "If you do, we
will shoot you."

After that, when the Shibaatfa-tjети visited them, at most
there were groups of two or three.

721

● [41] In October of 1953 the Shibaatfa-tjети came one evening
at nightfall and shot a poisoned arrow at a boy, "Bosalima," who
was standing at the entrance to the aldea. The wound was not
very deep, but was several inches long.

/156 cont. /

721 In December of 1953 the Shibaatfa-tjeti came back to make
123 another raid, accompanied by the Comishibueitjeti. But the
Majecototjeti had camped outside, on the other side of the river.
Some of the Shibaatfa-tjeti approached us carrying an arrow,
but leaving their bows in the woods with the other men. They
explained that they were friendly visitors and asked where the
Majecototjeti were, because they were supposed to visit them.
[302] But their black war-paint showed that they had come on a raid.
[574] (Visitors are painted with red or mulberry color, but not black.)
[822] When they saw that they were not going to get us to tell them
[412] where the people were, they asked us to give them matches and
fishhooks. They gave us in exchange some knives made of tooth.
After this things calmed down, but from this time on the people
of Majecototjeti have lived inside their palisades when they were
[361] near their main farm.

166 The people of Majecototjeti started a new farm called
361 "Joitja-tjeca" to the south of the Orinoco, where they could
721 live without palisades and feel safe from raids by the Shibaatfa-
tjeti. The Majecototjeti did not plan any retaliatory raid, be-
cause they said, "None of our men have been killed."

727 In September of 1954 I had camped with the Majecototjeti at
361 their new farm to the south of the Orinoco River. Everybody was
[114] calmer there, and they seemed to feel freer than at any time
since the first raid by the Shibaatfa-tjeti had put them on the
alert almost a year before.

222 Anyone who wished to do so could go out and gather fruit,
fish, or hunt crabs, even in small groups. The boys were having
[226] fun shooting at the fish in the many streams with their little arrows
[411] of split palm shoots and bows made of a curved stick and a piece
[857] of twisted bark. It was the season of the moriche fruit, and the
/157/ women went out almost every day and came back carrying
726 baskets full of this fruit. One afternoon about 1:00 P.M. some
came to the aldea and said that a great number of tracks had been
seen not far from the aldea. A group of men went out to investigate.

9:Greller K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18



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Guaharibo Indian of the Padamo river. (Photograph by J. Grellier)

[p. 64 - A]

[pp. 1-64 not processed]

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● 411
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TOP: One evening, thirteen Guaharibos from the Padamo arrived.
(Photograph by J. Grelier)

BOTTOM LEFT: Guaharibo Indian. Notice the length of his bow and arrows.
(Photograph by J. Grelier)

BOTTOM RIGHT: Guaharibo woman. (Photograph by J. Grelier)

[N.64-B]

123

From the second day onwards their audacity began to become a nuisance. Pots, pans, empty boxes, string, knives and, of course, machetes, constantly excited their greed and began to disappear, to be concealed among the rocks at the foot of the hills. From then on we had to keep our stores, bags and dioxies under lock and key. During the daytime they roamed about the camp, driven by curiosity to see so much that was new, but with the night they would again herd together round their fires at the water's edge. They were very jealous of their women-folk and paid them the most touching attention. One of the women was frequently shaken by violent fits of coughing and each time her mate would bring her a gourd of water he had drawn from the river and support her while she drank. When the coughing started again, the poor man's face would take on an expression of powerless solicitude.

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As far as I could discover the Guaharibos are monogamous and their women are definitely in the minority—as evidenced by the present group of nine men and two women. When, by means of signs and gestures, we asked the unattached males whether they had no wives, the answer was in each case in the negative. Cardona told us that the most common cause of quarrels among them is raping of the women. We thought that homosexuality was also probably common practice. We had no actual proof of this, but saw many instances of gestures—usually among themselves, but occasionally directed at us—which were, to say the least, equivocal. To the Guaharibos such gestures were obviously natural and proper behaviour.

In order to watch their reactions we fired a few rounds of ammunition. Accustomed to the silence of the forest and trained to hear the least rustle of sound, they betrayed instant terror. Clapping their hands over their ears, they fled. We invited them to demonstrate their own weapons. They handled their powerful bows with astonishing ease and accuracy and could send their light arrows, five to six feet long and made of straight reed stems, nearly a hundred yards. With a termite hill some eighteen inches high and twelve inches across as target, they hit it consistently from fifty yards. Shooting

9:Grelher K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

Makiritare SS20

Guaharibo

The Indians of the Upper Orinoco

81

vertically into the air was particularly spectacular. The bowman stood with his left arm extended holding the bow over his head, his back arched and body relaxed. Then, pulling on the bow-string slowly to keep the arrow steady, he would let fly, his body dead-still as he watched the arrow climb upwards, spinning like a top.

As happened on the occasion of their first visit, our Guaharibos took themselves off one morning before dawn. Our cook, Evaristo, pointed westwards across the savannah where we could see them outlined in the tall grass as they walked with their backs to the sun.

The Makiritares of the Cunucunuma

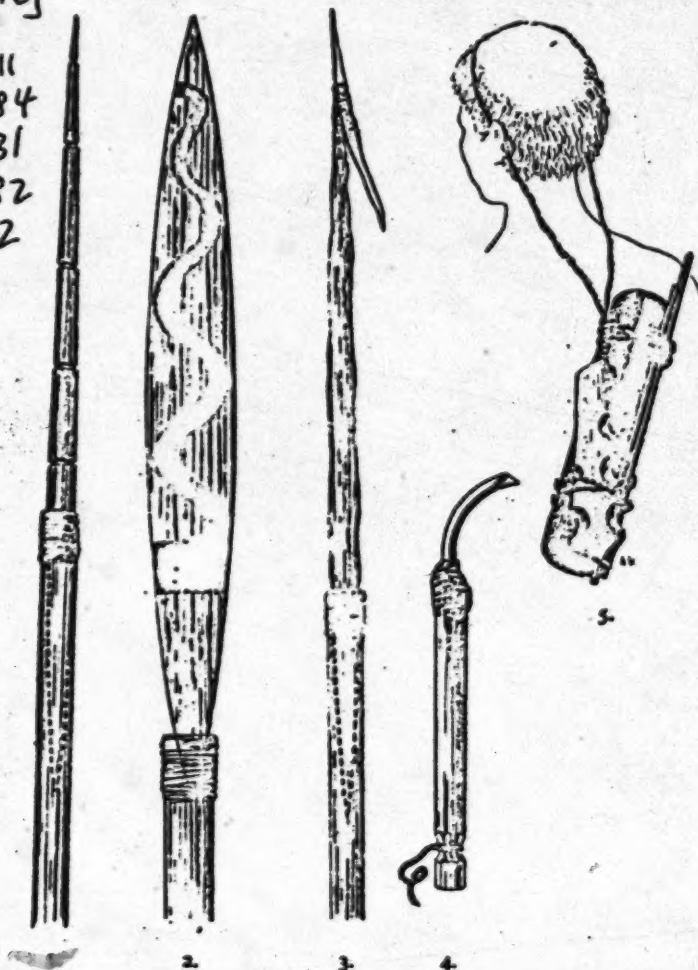
In 1886, Jean Chaffanjon, the French explorer, visited the Makiritares of the middle Cunucunuma and wrote an enlightening account of them, saying that they spoke tolerable Spanish. In 1949 de Civrieux and Lichy also went up the Cunucunuma; accompanied by Makiritares, they reached Mount Marahuaca. More recently still Dr. Hans Baumgartner, former head of the Health Department of the Amazon Federal Territory, visited them. Although they are generally known as Makiritares, these Caribs prefer to call themselves Dekunas. "Makiritare" means "River Man" in Arawak, and at one time must have rung out like an alarm call when the pillaging conquering hordes were on the march. To-day, though the number of Makiritares in Venezuela does not exceed seven hundred, their influence still dominates the Upper Caura, the Upper Padamo and the Cunucunuma rivers, where they are to be found in greatest concentration.

The Cunucunuma flows into the Orinoco some thirty-five miles below Esmeralda, its waters making good some of the loss sustained at the Casiquiare fork, where some of the Orinoco's water drains into the Amazonian Rio Negro. It is a beautiful river, whose black and white waters intermingle. It receives the torrents that pour down Duida's western flank and from Marahuaca, the two tallest monuments to the former sandstone expanse of the Guianan massif. Two hundred yards from its mouth the Cunucunuma is broken by rapids which

9:Grelher K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waicra

[P.110]

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ARROW HEADS

1. Notched point designed to break off in the wound. These points measure from eight to twelve inches in length. 2. Bamboo blade pointed at both ends and therefore reversible. 3. Harpoon point. The bone barb is skilfully bound in position. 4. Small knife; made from the incisor of the capybara and fixed to a wooden handle. The whole measures about six inches. 5. The Waika is rarely separated from his quiver made from the stem of a bamboo in which he also carries his firestick.

Esmeralda to the Guaharibo Rapids

111

It was on July 15th that we encountered our first Waikas. 123
We were sailing close under the left bank during the late after-
noon when we heard hoarse cries near by. Two naked Indians [302]
with faces and bodies painted violet showed themselves among
the trees. With excited gestures and brandishing their bows,
they motioned us to come closer.

"Shori! Shori!" they shouted.

"Shori! Shori!" we repeated and held up machetes for
them to see.

By the time we had found a suitable landing-place on the
bank the two had become six—six young men laughing, shout-
ing and jostling each other excitedly. All were painted.
While we were still making fast, they plunged into the water
and hoisted themselves aboard. We gave them machetes and
manioc and they gave us bows and arrows in return. Judging
from the way they fingered our clothes, boots and beards we
must have appeared very peculiar creatures to them. All the
time they kept saying "Shori! Shori!" and we responded
as in a litany, "Shori!"

Physically the Waika is no different from the Guaharibo. 142
He has the same stocky body and contrasting thin legs. His
hair is cut monk-fashion with the top of the head shaven. He 291
wears no clothes but a string of forest cotton which serves as
a belt and keeps his privy member tied upwards by means of a
knot round the prepuce. On his arms above the elbow he
wears a bangle of tightly woven cotton, monkey's fur or bird's 301
skin. His ears are pierced to take ear-rings of reed. [237]
Sometimes a bunch of different coloured parakeet's feathers, or [304]
toucan's feathers, is used for this purpose. Occasionally he [291]
will wear a belt of cotton threads died with ochre. At first
we thought this to be a badge of rank or authority, but later
we saw so many of these garments and they were offered so
readily as barter that we had to revise this idea. Another
frequent form of adornment is the pelt of a capuchin monkey
worn on the head like a tiara. And all of these ornaments, (439)
besides bows and arrows, were freely offered to us in exchange (123)
for knives, necklaces and matches.

The bow is the Waika's only weapon. Made of strong, 411 ●

411 supple wood and well over six feet long, it is very powerful. With it the Waika can shoot an arrow more than a hundred yards and can hit a *paujil*—a bird about the size of a turkey—at forty yards. Normally two or three arrows are carried and they are as long as, if not longer than, the bow itself. The shafts are made of reed which, Cardona said, is specially grown for the purpose on their plantations, and are feathered by falcon's feathers. The feathers are meticulously tied in a near-perfect spiral with thread of forest cotton or morisco palm fibre. Each arrow has a different head specially adapted to a particular purpose. Spare arrow-heads are carried in a quiver in which also is carried fire-making material to protect it from the damp.

[372] The quiver is a simple bamboo case to which are also tied a firestick and a number of little knives made from the incisors of a large rodent called a capybara. It is carried on the back [412] [237] by means of a string slung round the forehead.

484 Such comprise the simple impedimenta of the Waika on his journeys through the forest. The women, who accompany their mates on their many ceaseless wanderings, presumably have their own burdens to carry, but we saw nothing of them until we visited our first native village on the next day.

491 As we went up-river we came across the remains of a rude bridge which had formerly spanned the two hundred yards of river and which had been carried away by the flood waters. It was the biggest bridge we had seen although we had passed a number of lesser ones fashioned of lianas spanning the tributaries. On the bank where the bridge had been were some twenty natives and a handful of children.

114 "Apo! Shori! Apo!" they greeted us.

We knew from Butrón that, though his men were accustomed to replenish their banana stocks at this place, they had so far never been allowed to visit the village hidden somewhere in the forest.

221 The Waika lives on wild fruits, fish, meat and the produce of [484] plantations adjacent to his villages. Most of his time he spends [262] wandering in the forest and his fleeting appearances at his village occur usually only when natural resources fail or when he has to defend himself against an enemy horde. He knows

10: Chagnon

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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[For information on club fights as a means of settling disputes between individuals or factions within a village, see category 578.]

000 marriage exchanges with other groups.

* (62) The weakness of kinship¹

* (62)
613

Few institutions promote solidarity between the local lineages of a village on the one hand and between

* (62) allied villages on the other. Consanguineal kinship ties
* (62) are weak; so weak, that the most bitter fighting usually takes place between villages comprised of closely related

* (62) kinsmen. The roles of leaders are poorly defined, and head-
* (62) men can rarely reconcile dissident factions within their own
578

* (62) villages. Moreover, there are a number of factors constantly
* (62) threatening the stability of local groups, and these factors
* (62) likewise weaken political relationships between allied

villages. Within villages fighting frequently breaks out

• (41) over food thefts and over sexual liaisons. In the latter
(241) case the fighting takes the form of dueling with clubs, and
(361) usually the result is that the village splits; one of the

factions establishes a garden elsewhere and becomes an in-
dependent village. As the histories of selected villages

* (361) will show (see below, Chapter 5), the settlement pattern of
* (62) Yanomamö villages is cyclical; it results from the splitting of larger villages, the renewed growth of the splinter groups into large villages, followed by recurrent splitting

* (62) and growth ad infinitum. Kinship as a medium for promoting
* (62) solidarity within villages loses its efficacy when villages

¹It is difficult to discuss each variable affecting marriage alliances as operating by itself, for they are intimately interconnected, and I list them separately only to point out their major features.

722 villagers return from their visit, returning only to fetch
361 food from the garden. When the men are away on a raid, the women and children are concealed in these temporary sites
221 until the men return. During the dry season when raiding and
361 feasting are common, villages are frequently deserted; the
574 men are away on a raid and the women and children are hiding
722 in the jungle, or the entire village has gone off to participate in a feast at another village. This pattern has rather unfortunately been described as nomadism, or semi-nomadism, by a number of students of Yanomamö culture. I wish to emphasize that the Yanomamö population movements, annually or over a longer period of time, are almost exclusively a function of their warfare pattern and not economic considerations, as is implied in the use of the terms nomadism and semi-nomadism.

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• (411) All males above 13 or 14 years of age have a bow, arrows, a bamboo case for carrying extra arrow tips, a fire
(415) drill, and several 'knives' made from the incisors of the
372 agouti rodent. Both sexes have either a cotton or a vine
237 hammock. These possessions are easily carried by the owner
352 on long trips and are rapidly packed. Whenever I wanted to
123 accompany a group of people on trips to other villages they always complained about how much of a burden I would be. It always took me several hours to prepare my packs, and I always took more than I could comfortably carry myself, having
484 to hire some of them to assist me. They, on the contrary, could be ready to depart within ten minutes of their decision to leave, having only to roll up their hammocks and pack a few

158
[Namowei-tedi Group]

174 Kreiböwei population was in need of an ally to aid them in
175 their raids against Patanowä-tedi. Shortly after they moved
361 to Kreiböwei they made friendly contact with a Shamatari
722 village, then under the leadership of Riakowä, located on
+ 628 the Mavaca River. The Kreiböwei-tedi began visiting Riakowä's
[574] village and entered into feasting relationships with his
followers.

174 Riakowä's followers were related to the Shamatari
+ 175 with whom the Kreiböwei-tedi were at war: Sibarariwä's vil-
628 lage. Sibarariwä persuaded Riakowä to invite the Kreiböwei-
602 tedi to a feast during which the two Shamatari groups planned
527 to kill as many men as they could and abduct women. By doing
574 this Sibarariwä would avenge the murder of his older brother,
[123] Ruwahiwä, who was treacherously killed about 10 years earlier
[72] by the Kreiböwei-tedi, when the latter lived at Patanowä-täka.

174 The Kreiböwei-tedi accepted the feast invitation and
+ 175 went to Riakowä's village in the dry season (i.e., December
628 through March) of 1950-51. Sibarariwä's followers, along
527 with a party of men from Hasaböwä-tedi, were concealed in the
574 jungle outside Riakowä's village. Shortly after arriving at
[132] the village, the Kreiböwei-tedi men were attacked by Riakowä's
[40] men with sharpened staves and axes, and eleven of them were
killed. Those that managed to break out of the palisades
were shot from ambush by Sibarariwä's followers, along with
the Hasaböwä-tedi, resulting in the wounding of a large
number of Kreiböwei-tedi men. Only six or seven women were
174 seized by the Shamatari; but, the greediness of the Shamatari
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124 contributes to the reduction in the intensity of warfare.
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721 This stems from the fact that the Caribs have long had access to firearms, and the Ygnomam5 avoid attacking Carib villages.

• (411) It is not likely that Ygnomam5 villages settled close to or (77) among Caribs would be raided by other Ygnomam5, for the Caribs would either defend their co-residents or provide them with firearms to retaliate. Certainly, I know of no cases of Ygnomam5 villages mounting raids on other Ygnomam5 who live near or among Carib Indians.

184 Throughout the thesis I have emphasized the causal
562 relationship between the shortage of women and the develop-
* 621 ment of hostilities within and between villages. The same
* 628 relationship appears to hold in the Uraricaa' area, as the
578 following incident illustrates. The missionaries discovered
721 that one of the Ygnomam5 women had two husbands. They felt
* 721 that this was an unacceptable situation and persuaded the
562 woman that she should abandon one of the men. This man then
726 could not find another eligible woman of the appropriate age
797 and relationship to marry, so he organized a party of men to
(599) accompany him on a wife-hunting trip to a neighboring, but unrelated, village. On arriving he informed the people that he had come to teach them a new and powerful institution, prayer, which he had learned from the missionaries. He had his hosts kneel and bow their heads; then he and his companions fell upon them with machetes and killed them. The visitors seized the hosts' women and fled. In an area where warfare is rare, this incident indelibly underscores the

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[For information on club fights as a means of settling disputes between individuals or factions within a village, see category 578.]

[P. xvii]



Visitors waiting in village circle for hosts to invite them "home" (described in Chapter 4).

Shaman (carrying club) chanting to Hekera (demons) while curing a patient (man sitting in foreground). Patient later died of malaria (described in Chapter 2).



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Clay pots and banana (plantain) peels; preparations for a feast (described in Chapter 4). Note quantities of plantains hanging up and on the ground.

Mamus-teri men shooting at a wooden dummy (in hammock) in a mock raid. They left on the actual raid the next day (described in Chapter 5).



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THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT · 21

black, heavy, and very brittle. It breaks easily, but the pieces are used by the men as grinding surfaces for their drug manufacture, or as baking dishes when the women make cassava bread. As we shall see below, only a few villages make the clay pots and trade them to the members of other groups. [463] [438] 323

The most distinctive feature of Yanomamö technology is that it is very direct.⁴ No tool or technique is complicated enough to require specialized labor or raw materials. Each village, therefore, can produce every item of material culture it requires from the jungle resources immediately around it. That is, the simplicity of the tools, the processes of manufacture, and the distribution of resources are such that each village can exist independently of its neighbors as far as technological requirements are concerned. Nevertheless, some specialization in trade and manufacturing does occur, but it seems to be more closely related to the development of political alliances and is therefore discussed in a later chapter. I will describe the material culture at this point and relate it to the over-all adaptation later in this and following chapters. [28] 32 628

WEAPONS Wood for bows is obtained from two species of palm tree, one that grows wild and one that is cultivated.⁵ The bow is very heavy because palm wood is extremely dense. One cannot, for example, drive a nail into palm wood. The fibers that go into the thick bowstring come from the inner bark of a tree; these are twisted into a cord by rolling them with the palm of the hand against the thigh. The cord is so strong when it is new that it can be used as a hammock rope, but it deteriorates with age and must be replaced periodically. The bow itself is shaped with the lower jaw of a large, wild pig. The canine teeth in the pig's lower mandible are worn to razor-sharp edges by chewing and make magnificent cutting tools; the bow stave is held vertically and the mandible is planed up and down the surface, each upward stroke shaving off a fine layer of wood. After much labor and patience, the bow is completed. It has a circular or oval cross section and is very difficult to draw. Most Yanomamö bows would compare favorably to our best hunting bows in strength. [411] [324] [283] [412] [237]

Palm wood is also used for one type of arrow point. A splinter of palm wood about 15 inches long is smoothed down to a fine point, and several lateral grooves are cut into it along its length. This is done so that the point will break off in the body of the target. This type of point is covered with curare poison, which slowly dissolves in the animal (or man) after the point has broken off. This point is used most frequently for monkey hunting, as monkeys tend to grab hold of branches and tree trunks when they are wounded. The curare relaxes their muscles, and the monkeys sooner or later fall to the ground. Unless the point were coated with curare, the animal might die high in the treetops and could not be easily recovered. The Yanomamö also carry large supplies of extra palm points in their bamboo quivers since these points break whether or not the arrow strikes the intended target. This type of point is manufactured in large quantities in several villages and is traded to other groups. [924] [278] [224] [438]

The curare vine is also collected wild from the jungle. It is soaked in hot water to leach out the active ingredient. The water containing the poison is then painted onto the palm-wood points over glowing coals; the water evaporates, leaving a brown, sticky 278

⁴For more details on Yanomamö material culture than are given here, see Becher (1960) and Zerries (1964).

⁵The cultivated palm, *Attiquea*, produces a desirable fruit. It is cultivated for the fruit, but the wood of dead palms is used in bow manufacturing. [245]

22 ADAPTATION

278 layer of poison. Sometimes other ingredients are added to the poison to make it stickier and less soluble. Without these ingredients, the poison would be washed off by the rain. As an extra precaution against this, some men wrap a leaf around the curate point after it has been attached to the arrow.

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[239] Arrow-point quivers are made from 2-inch bamboo sections of about 18 inches. The quiver is essentially a tube of wood with a natural joint serving as the bottom of the case. The bamboo grows wild in large stands, and some villages specialize in collecting it, making quivers, and trading them to other groups. A piece of monkey, snake, or jaguar skin, molded to fit over the top prevents water from getting into the tube. It usually contains a dozen or so extra arrow points, fibers for fastening the points to the arrow shaft, a ball of resin used as adhesive, a few splinters of bone used to tip one kind of arrow point, and, occasionally, a magical charm. A fiber or cotton string is tied around the bamboo tube near its top, and a loop is fashioned so that the tube can be worn around the neck. It hangs down the middle of the back.

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[824] The Yanomamö attach their fire drills and a pair of agouti-tooth knives to the outside of the bamboo quiver. The fire drill is made from the wood of the cocoa tree and consists of one or two 20-inch long, slender shafts, circular in cross section, and a 12-inch long lanceolate-shaped piece of cocoa wood into which have been worn several holes. The latter piece of wood is placed on the ground and held firmly in place by the foot. The tip of the slender shaft is placed into one of the holes, and the shaft is twirled rapidly with the palm of the hands; the heat of the friction ignites the wood dust that results from the spinning tip, and this is immediately transferred to some cotton tinder. The men usually work in pairs to start a fire, as the dust cools off by the time a single man can get his hands back up to the top of the slender shaft to begin another downward twirling motion.

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[237] The agouti-tooth knives are manufactured from the lower incisor of the agouti rodent. The incisors are long, slender, gently curved, and very sharp. The tip of the incisor is shaped like a wedge and is frequently indented. The exterior part of the tooth is much harder than the pith so that a very sharp edge protrudes slightly above the softer, decayed dentine. The Yanomamö keep the dentine worn down by periodically "sharpening" the tooth; this is accomplished by cutting into a particular kind of reed, which apparently contains a corrosive ingredient that attacks the dentine but does not affect the enamel of the tooth. The base of the tooth is fastened in a short piece of wood by a resin adhesive and a fiber wrapping. The completed knife is as sharp as any steel chisel, but because of its small size, its usefulness is limited. It is primarily used to whittle lanceolate arrow points from bamboo, a very time-consuming job.

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[234] The jungle also provides another kind of poison used by the Yanomamö to kill fish. The men select a small stream, dam it up, and put the juice of a vine into the water. This stuns the small fish, which then float to the surface where they are scooped up by the women either by handfuls or with loosely woven, shallow baskets (see Fig. 2-2). If the woman is in the middle of the stream, she empties the contents of her basket into her hand and then stores the handful of squirming fish in her mouth until both the basket and her mouth are full. If larger fish are caught, the women bite them behind their heads to kill them and toss them out on the bank. The first one in the stream takes a chance on locating an electric eel; if she is shocked, the others try to locate the eel with sticks and kill it.

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222 They have much less fat on them than grubs, and become dry and crunchy during the
252 cooking, having a texture and form like cheese pone when prepared.
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Large spiders are also collected; they are simply placed directly on the hot coals and roasted alive. The legs and thorax are eaten.

Another common insect food is the larvae of a species of large ant. Only the head of the squirming larvae is eaten. It is very crunchy and has a nutty taste, but one must exercise caution in eating them since they are equipped with sharp pincers and can inflict a painful wound on the tongue or lip.

224 The game animals are all shot with arrows. The curare palm points are usually
411 used for monkey hunting, while the lanceolate bamboo points are used for large game, such as deer, tapir, and wild pigs. A third kind of point is used for birds. It consists of a long, slender stick to the end of which has been bound a splinter of gently curved monkey bone. This serves as the penetrating point and the barb; it is difficult to extract the point once the barb enters the animal.

[237] The Yanomamö also fashion a fourth kind of arrow point as they need it. It is simply a stick that has numerous twigs branching in a close cluster. The twigs are cut off an inch or so from the main branch, and the stem is inserted into the end of the arrow shaft that usually contains the curare-tipped point. This fourth type of point is used to kill small birds whose feathers are desired for decoration purposes. On one occasion I saw a young man fashion one of these points in a few seconds. He saw a small bird, located a shrub a few feet away, bit off a branch with his teeth, bit the twigs off, and stuck the point into his arrow shaft—without taking his eyes off the small bird for a second. This type of point is discarded after it serves its temporary purpose.

224 The Yanomamö do not employ traps or compounds when hunting. They frequently use dogs to run tapir, pigs, and deer, but most hunting is merely the individual stalking and shooting whatever game is available. As men always carry their weapons with them when they leave the village, they are, in effect, hunting continuously. A communal type of hunting trip invariably precedes a feast; this is described in Chapter 4.

The technique for capturing armadillos is very interesting. Armadillos live in burrows deep underground, and the Yanomamö are always investigating the entrances of these burrows to see if any signs of recent occupation can be found. If the burrow is occupied, the hunters quickly cover the entrance with combustible materials and start a fire. After the fire is blazing strongly, they find a dried termite nest, which produces large quantities of smoke, and put it onto the fire. When this is ignited, they fan the smoke into the burrow, cover the fire with sand, and look for other openings to the armadillo den. These are quickly spotted when smoke begins to emerge from them and covered with sand to keep the smoke in. Then the men crawl around with their ears held to the ground. The armadillo will sometimes start burrowing in order to escape the smoke; when he does, he is heard and his location immediately established. A stick is used to dig into the ground and find the animal, usually 2 or 3 feet below the surface. On one occasion the men had difficulty locating the animal and dug several holes without hitting the burrow. One of them then uncovered the entrance, obtained a thick vine from a nearby tree, and tied a knot in the end of it. He then introduced the knot into the burrow by spinning the vine rapidly between his hands, pushing it in gently as it twirled. When he could not get the vine to go any further, the men listened on the ground to locate the spinning knot. When they found it, they marked the spot. The vine was

STATUS DIFFERENCES AND ACTIVITIES - 99

duplicated by an equal effort on the part of Paruriwā, an obvious attempt by the latter to show that he was also a leader. Some of the visitors arrived early and were visiting in Paruriwā's house. He commanded his wife to prepare food for them, but the woman moved a little too slowly to suit him. Paruriwā went into a rage, grabbed an axe, and swung it wildly at her. She ducked and ran screaming from the house. Paruriwā recovered his balance and threw the axe at her as she fled, but missed. By this time Kaobawā had seen the axe go whizzing over the woman's head; he raced across the village in time to take a machete from Paruriwā before he could inflict much damage with it. He did manage, however, to hit her twice before Kaobawā disarmed him, splitting her hand with one of the blows.

On another occasion one of Kaobawā's brothers took too much drug and became violent. He staggered to the center of the village with his bow and arrows, while people ran frantically out of their houses to avoid being shot. Kaobawā managed to disarm him and hid his weapons.

During the several club fights that took place while I was in the field, Kaobawā stood by with his bow and arrows to make sure that the fighting was kept relatively innocuous (see Fig. 3-9). In one of the chest-pounding duels, he managed to keep the fight from escalating into a shooting war by making sure that everybody in his group took a turn in the fighting. (See Chapter 4 for a description of the fight.) On this occasion

Fig. 3-9. Kaobawā (left, holding his bow) attempts to keep a club fight over a woman from escalating to shooting. The man in front of him has just been hit on the head and blood is streaming down his neck.



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112 POLITICAL ALLIANCES, TRADING AND FEASTING

giver would apologize for its defects. If it were a particularly poor item, just the opposite would occur; the giver would cite its not-so-obvious merits, while the recipient would draw attention to the conspicuous shortcomings. In every trade the hosts always feel as though they had been over generous, and the guests, after they depart, complain that they had not received enough. The trade was conducted in an atmosphere of efficiency, with very little argumentation. The hosts had concealed their choicest items and vigorously denied having some goods, and the guests had done likewise—sinking their prize bows in a river before arriving at feast, for example, and bringing an inferior one along in case one of the hosts asked for it during the trading. As this was the first time in some years that the two groups feasted together, there was nothing for either one to repay. Instead, the visitors asked for items *no mraiba*—to be repaid later—and the guests did the same.

Fig. 4-2. Guests drinking boiled ripe plantain soup as a feast; the trough is made from the bark of a large tree, *atapuri*.



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Fig. 4-3. Chest-pounding duel about to be escalated.

* 628 his own distance from his victim by measuring his arm length to the man's chest, taking
 578 several dry runs before delivering his blow. He would then wind up like a baseball pitcher, but keeping both feet on the ground, and deliver a tremendous wallop with his fist to the man's left pectoral muscle, putting all of his weight into the blow. The victim's knees would often buckle and he would stagger around a few moments, shaking his head to clear the stars, but remain silent. The blow invariably raised a "frog" on the recipient's pectoral muscle where the striker's knuckles bit into his flesh. After each blow, the com-

LEVELS OF VIOLENCE · 119

If such a duel is escalated, it usually develops into a side-slapping contest. Occasionally, the combatants will sue for the use of machetes and axes, but this is rare. If machetes are used, the object of the contest still remains the same: Injure your opponent seriously enough so that he will withdraw from the contest, but try not to draw blood. Hence, opponents strike each other with only the flat of the blade when they resort to machetes.

In some areas the Yanomamö modify the chest-pounding duel in another way: The opponents hold rocks in their clenched fists and strike their adversaries on the chest with an even more stunning blow. They try not to let the stone itself touch the flesh of the man they are fighting. Even without the use of stones, however, they are able to deliver their blows with such force that some of the participants cough up blood for days after having been in a duel.

Club fights represent the next level of violence. These can take place both within and between villages. Most of the club fights result from arguments over women, but a few of them develop out of disputes associated with food theft. Dikawä, a young man about twenty years old, came home one day and discovered a bunch of eating bananas his father, about fifty-five years old, had hung up in his house, above his hearth, to ripen in the smoke. Dikawä, however, ate a number of them without his father's permission. When his father discovered the theft, he ripped a pole out of his house and began clubbing Dikawä. Dikawä armed himself with a star club and attacked his father, precipitating a general melee that soon involved most of the men in the village, each taking the side of the father or son, as they saw fit. In brawls such as these, many individuals join in the fighting just to keep the sides even; if a group is badly outnumbered, they will be joined by friends whose sense of fairness stimulates them to take sides, no matter what the issue is. The net result of the above fight was a number of lacerated skulls, bashed fingers, and sore shoulders. The contestants try to hit each other on the top of the head, but when the fight gets out of hand, the participants swing wildly and rarely hit their opponents on the skull. More frequently, the blow lands on the shoulder or arm.

The clubs used in these fights are, ideally, 8 to 10 feet long. They are very wiry, quite heavy, and deliver a tremendous wallop. In general shape and dimensions, they resemble pool cues, but are nearly twice as long. The club is held at the thin end, which is frequently sharpened to a long point in case the fighting escalates to spear thrusting, in which case the club is inverted and used as a pike.

Most duels start between two men, usually after one of them has been caught *flagrante* trysting with the other's wife. The enraged husband challenges his opponent to strike him on the head with a club. He holds his own club vertically, leans against it and exposes his head for his opponent to strike. After he has sustained a blow on the head, he can then deliver one on the culprit's skull. But as soon as blood starts to flow, almost everybody rips a pole out of the house frame and joins in the fighting, supporting one or the other of the contestants.

Needless to say, the tops of most men's heads are covered with long, ugly scars of which their bearers are immensely proud. Some of them, in fact, keep their head cleanly shaved on top to display these scars, rubbing red pigment on their bare scalps to define them more precisely. Viewed from the top, the skull of an accomplished man of forty years looks like a road map, for it is criss-crossed by as many as twenty large scars (see

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302 Fig. 5-1). Others keep their heads shaved for decorative reasons only, irrespective of the number of scars they bear. Some do not shave their heads at all.

Club fighting is frequent in large villages, primarily because there are more opportunities for men to establish clandestine sexual liaisons without getting caught at it. Most affairs are, however, discovered. The larger the village, the more frequent the club fighting; and as fighting increases, so too does the probability that the village will fission and result in two separate groups. Most village fissioning I investigated resulted from a specific club fight over a woman, a fight that was merely one such incident in a whole series of similar squabbles.

The village of Patanowä-teri split during the last month of my first field trip. One of the young men took the wife of another because she was allegedly being mistreated by him. This resulted in a brutal club fight that involved almost every man in the village. The fight escalated to jabbing with the sharpened ends of the clubs when the husband of the woman in question was speared by his rival and wounded. The headman of the [222] village, a brother of Kaobawä, had been attempting to keep the fighting restricted to clubs. When the husband's rival speared his opponent, the headman went into a rage and speared him in turn, running his own sharpened club completely through the young man's body. He died when they tried to remove the weapon. The wife was then given [684] back to her legitimate husband, who punished her by cutting both her ears off with his machete.

[602] The kinsmen of the dead man were then ordered to leave the village before there
* [628] was further bloodshed. The aggrieved faction joined the Monou-teri and the Bisassi-teri
[721] because these two groups were at war with their natal village, and they knew that they would have an opportunity to raid their own village to get revenge. The Monou-teri and the two Bisassi-teri groups accepted these new arrivals; they were kinsmen and would actively prosecute the war against the Patanowä-teri. The hosts, of course, took several women from the refugees, the price a vulnerable group must pay for protection.

578 Spears are not commonly used by the Yanamanö. A rare form of fighting, how-
• 411 ever, does involve the use of these weapons. It is a formal contest in the sense that the fight is prearranged and the participants agree beforehand to refrain from using their bows and arrows. Fights such as these take place when the members of two villages are not angry enough with each other to shoot to kill, but are too furious to be able to satisfy their grudges with chest pounding or club fighting.

411 The spears themselves are about 6 feet long, lightweight, and frequently painted
531 with red and black designs. They are merely peeled saplings sharpened to a long point at the heavy end. Each man makes several of them.

* 628 The single spear-throwing incident that took place during my fieldwork started
578 over a woman. Her husband had been very cruel to her, so the woman's brother, the
721 headman of one of the villages north of Kaobawä's area, took her away from him by
593 force. This enraged his entire following, which was considerably smaller than that of the wife's brother. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the smaller of the groups was thoroughly trounced by the followers of the wife's brother. They challenged their adversaries to a spear fight and notified them they were going to return with reinforcements.

The woman over which the dispute began then ran away from her brother and rejoined her husband. But the die was cast and the fight was now a matter of pride, the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 122.]

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*628 original cause being quite irrelevant. Each of the principals in the dispute busily recruited
578 aid from their allies. Kaobaw's group sent a delegation of young men to the village that
721 took the woman away from the cruel husband.

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When the cruel husband's incensed group and their allies arrived, about a week
after the challenge, they entered their opponent's village and drove them out in a hail
of spears. Many of them were wounded superficially, but one old man, not able to dodge
missiles as well as he used to, suffered a bad wound and subsequently died. The victors
(727) stole all the hammocks, machetes, and cooking pots they could find and fled. The losers
regrouped and gave chase, this time intending to escalate the fight to shooting. Some of
them tied pieces of steel to their spears to make them more effective.

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They caught up to the victorious group and another spear fight took place. This
time tempers grew hot because one man in each of the fighting groups had managed to
borrow a shotgun from the missionaries associated with the respective villages; these
were repeatedly discharged over the heads of the fighters. The Yanomamö had deceived
the missionaries into loaning them two guns on the pretext of getting fresh game for the
mission personnel. One of the shotgun-wielding Indians, standing at the front of his
group, was struck by two sharpened spears. At this, he discharged his shotgun into the
face of the headman of the other group, terminating the fight. The wounded man nearly
died from the blast, but after many months of nursing by the missionaries he managed
to recover. He still carries several balls of lead in his face.¹ Thereafter, the two groups
were at war and raided each other with the intention of killing.

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The raid is the next level in the scale of violence; this is warfare proper. The
objective of the raid is to kill one or more of the enemy and flee without being discovered.
If, however, the victims of the raid discover their assailants and manage to kill one of
them, the campaign is not considered to be a success, no matter how many people the
raiders may have killed before sustaining their single loss. Rerebaw told me of a raid he
went on several years before I arrived. They managed to kill the headman of the village
they raided, abduct his small son, and kill one more man as he fled to the village to recruit
help. They were chased, but kept ahead of their pursuers for almost two days. Their
pursuers caught up with them after dark on the second day and attacked them while they
slept. They killed one man in his hammock, but in so doing, alarmed the others. A
skirmish between the two groups developed, and the raiders managed to kill two more
of their enemy in this struggle. Still, according to Rerebaw, the raid was not a good one
because one of their own men was killed. The son of the slain headman was later shot by
(727) Torokoiw, who presently lives in Monou-teri. The little boy was persecuted and
tormented by the other children. Finally, Torokoiw got sick of seeing this, so he shot
the little boy as he was bathing in the stream.

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¹The members of two villages in contact with the missions occasionally borrow shotguns from the missionaries. The missionaries are very cautious about loaning the Yanomamö firearms, knowing that these would be used in the wars. Shotguns are beginning to be rather common in Brazilian Yanomamö villages, as the Indians there now have opportunities to make contacts with settlers and backwoodsmen and do not have to rely on missionaries for these weapons. This, however, is a recent development. Brazilian Yanomamö, armed with these shotguns, have raided into Venezuela against villages that have not yet had any contact with outsiders.



Fig. 3-2. Kqobaw's men and their allies lining up (wayu itou) to raid the Patanowé-teri.

children and women died down and all was quiet in the village once again. I squatted there, unable to see what was going on, growing more nervous by the moment, half suspecting that the warriors were sneaking up on me to murder me for tape recording a sacred rite. Then the silence was broken when a single man began singing in a deep baritone voice: "I am meat hungry! I am meat hungry! Like the carrion-eating buzzard I hunger for flesh!" When he completed the last line, the rest of the raiders repeated his song, ending in an ear-piercing, high-pitched scream that raised goose bumps all over my arms and scalp. A second chorus, led by the same man, followed the scream. This one referred to meat hunger of the kind characteristic of a particular species of carnivorous wasp. They screamed again, becoming distinctly more enraged. On the third chorus, they referred again to the buzzard's meat hunger, and a few men simultaneously interjected such descriptions of their ferocity as: "I'm so fierce that when I shoot the enemy my arrow will strike with such force that blood will splash all over the material possessions in his household!"

Then the line of warriors broke, and the men gathered into a tight formation, weapons held above their heads. They shouted three times, beginning modestly and increasing their volume until they reached a climax at the end of the third shout: "Whaaaa! Whaaaa! WHAAAA!" They listened as the jungle echoed back their last shout, identified by them as the spirit of the enemy. They noted the direction from which the echo came. On hearing it, they pranced about frantically, hissed and groaned, waving their weapons, until Kqobaw calmed them down, and the shouting was repeated two more times. At the end of the third shout of the third repetition, the formation broke,

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Fig. 3-4. *Blowing drugs (ebene) on the pulverized bones of Damowil, slain Monou-teri headman.*

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located the enemy, but Parariwil refused to go any further. When he turned back, so did the entire party.

The Monou-teri and Bisaasi-teri raided against the Patanowil-teri six times while I lived with them, and each time the preparations for the raid closely followed the description given above. The Monou-teri returned to their producing site only when the jungle was inundated; only at that time could they exist without the support of their allies. The remainder of the year they had to take refuge with members of allied villages or expose themselves to the risk of being attacked by superior forces by remaining in their own producing garden.

The Monou-teri also raided the Patanowil-teri without aid from their allies. One of the raids was conducted near the end of the rainy season, and I was staying in their village at the time the raid was held.

A special ceremony took place the day before the raid. The gourds containing the ashes of the slain Damowil were put on the ground in front of his brother's house.